# THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 6 Spring · 1937 No. 2


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| The Revolt Against Christianity | *Edgar Legare Pennington* |
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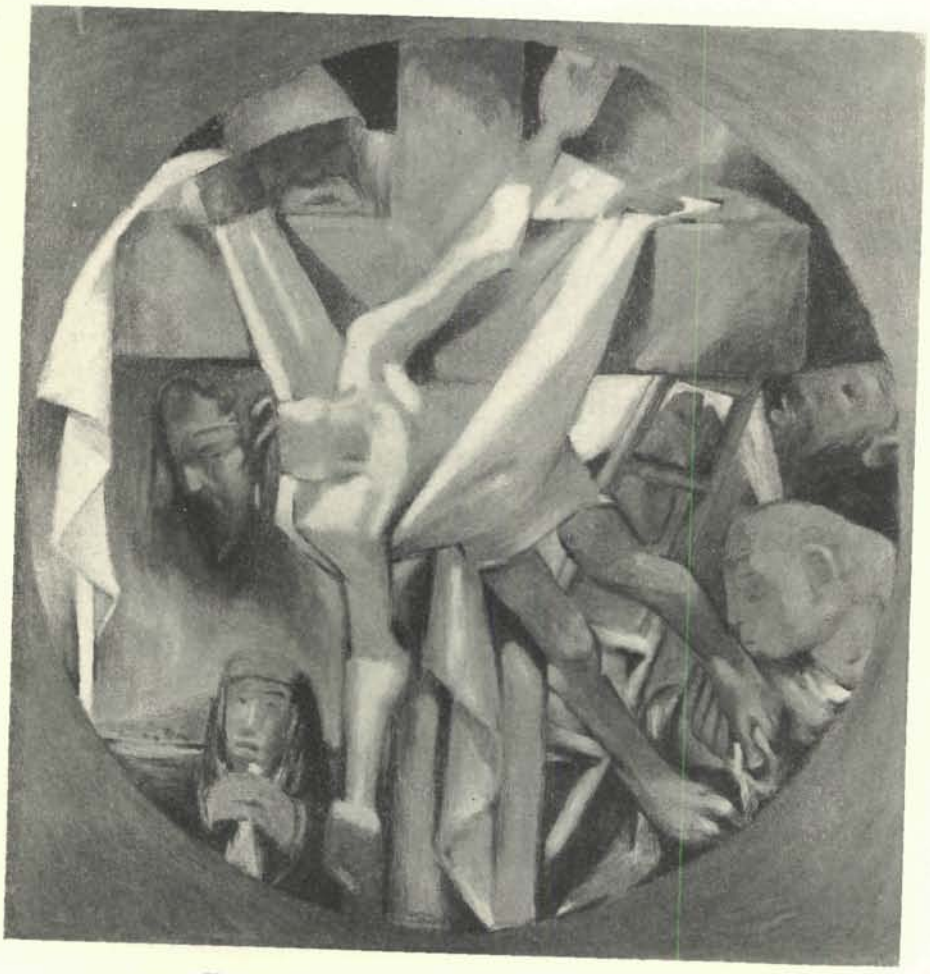

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS
*Jean Charlot*

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# Painter's Insight, Public's Sight

## The Critic, the Artist, and Problems of Representation

JEAN CHARLOT

AN ARTIST who turns critic is handicapped by a great pride and a great humility. The medium of words, the process of intelligible analysis, are foreign to his trade and in the use of such tools his unfamiliarity makes him humble. His pride is a reflection of the fact that he has over the professional critic the advantage to which Mark Twain pointed—that same advantage that the bug has over the entomologist—he knows his subject from the inside.

Artist and critic are of opposite types and what befits one is poison to the other. The facile approach to all the sources enjoyed by the modern critic, his mind filled with illustrations of all styles of all times, is, as regards the painter, a dubious blessing. The artist of yesterday, limited as he was by the lack of automobiles and of photography, had as a result an innocent faith in the one local style of his birthplace or bishopric, and a lifetime to dig far down into its possibilities, to a depth made possible only by such a narrowed approach. His colleague of today, unless he be of the strongest, will ease himself by leaning on an academic knowledge of the art styles of the past. All he knows, from Altamira to Miro, will be ingeniously put to work into pictures whose only defect will be a lack of creativeness.



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True creation must start from nothing. For the artist who only approximates this godlike attribute, true creation must at least start from little. The real painter approaches his work as nakedly now as he did in the prehistoric cave. This emptying of himself, this vacuum cleaning which is the first step of creation, is the absolute opposite of the data gathering and file ordering of the critical type.

The hypnosis in which the creative artist must dwell will develop his emotional, intuitive functions, but will make him less fit to express himself through the more commonplace, more analytical channel of words. There is a general and valid acknowledgment that the better the painter the more inarticulate he must be, and out of this inarticulateness the critic is born and makes hay. In our day the critic has become the indispensable middleman, sandwiched between the work of art and its public. His oratory in behalf of his dumb friend, the artist, more than often irritates the latter. Yet critics have their raison d'être in the reluctance of the artist to act as his own mouthpiece.

It is little wonder that the artist whose whole job is to put separate things together, to weld them solidly through composition and common emotional climate, will not see the point of attempting the reverse movement. To take a well-fused painting and tear it apart, design here, color there, spatial, tactile, etc. qualities, each cut clean and labelled, all ready to be dumped in an alcohol jar, is the job of the critics of our day, as typified by a Barnes—a kind of post-mortem trade. Much fun has been made of the emotional criticism of yore as opposed to such a so-called scientific attitude. Yet the case for the old-fashioned literary critic is still valid. He sensed the picture as alive and an autopsy would have seemed to him akin to murder. Pater attempted to parallel in words the mood of the picture, justly deemed all-important. Line, color, composition, were minimized as so much studio slang.

That the public loves to go behind the scenes does not impair the fact that its logical place is in the orchestra. So much



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shop talk has been aired in books discussing modern art that it has been forgotten that the picture is after all a spectacle to which for its full enjoyment one must bring a kind of ignorance or innocence. There is one problem, however, which is of interest to both artist and layman and stands as the meeting ground of their relationship—the problem of representation.

That pigments laid on canvas have anything to do with a representation of the world is not in fact apparent. Yet man, whose eye is trained at detecting the elements of natural spectacles, is quick to interpret into symbols otherwise meaningless patterns. Thus, as Leonardo points out, we see faces and monsters in the cracks of an old wall or a moving mass of clouds. Contrary to the layman's opinion it is not the representation of nature that is difficult in art but, if such be the aim, a severance of the connection between painting and representation. The least clue of line or color, however faint, will set the associative power to work. An ink blot on paper will create a rough but effective illusion. The black may suggest a hole in the paper affording a receding vista or become some object lying on the sheet of paper. Whatever the reading, an illusive space and volume are created. Such humanized interpretation of plastic facts multiplies with any stroke, scribbled line, change of value or of color in a picture. The human eye is trained to interpretation and the human mind follows its routine of attaching some objective reading to any system of line or color, be it in nature or in art.

It would be a cleaner job if one could paint with line and color only, barring their associative corollaries. In fact, abstract painting, using line and color per se, would be the only realistic approach to paint, denuded of what in painting smacks of magician's art and childish make-believe. But it appears evident from even this simplest example of the ink blot that, however desirable it would be to isolate line and color in some kind of sterilized vacuum, to study art "in the abstract" as we moderns put it quaintly, by some inescapable process of our



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imagination the outside world does get all mixed up with our diagrams. Picasso, try as he may, cannot shake off his guitar and his pipe. So, if we are to paint, we are to accept representation, the introduction willy-nilly of a subject matter woven into painting, as essential to pigment as is its physical density or chemical properties. Though such a conclusion smacks of unsophistication there is little harm done at that.

The incompatibility between story-telling and plastic equilibrium is an entirely fictitious creation, a scarecrow propped up by dealers and critics to shush a dissatisfied public. Throughout the history of art, representation and plastic qualities have grown and prospered as dependent on each other as are Siamese twins. But for the last sixty years a strange disease has overcome painting, the twins have come to hate each other and each would cut himself loose from the other even though such a step means death. Compared with what went before them, impressionism and cubism, those supposed opposites, seem very close to each other, intimate allies in their war against subject matter. Only their means of warfare differ since an impressionist will melt, a cubist will hack, whatever they chose to come in contact with. It was perhaps a lurking instinct of shame that made them limit their slaughter to wholly noncommittal objects that would have been deemed ignoble by the historical, moral, dynastic schools of the past. Laboriously intent on clearing Monet and Picasso the critics of those last decades have built up a case for painting versus subject matter but it is dubiously convincing. It is a plea for the defense, and judicial oratory is sure to age badly.

That the painter is to deal with the objective world as one of the inescapable ingredients of his paint does not imply that he is to take representation as his aim. It seems more within human logic that he should bend it to his own end, use it with the same discrimination with which he handles contrasts of color or dynamics of line. But even if the painter unduly decided that representation alone was his end, he would not



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thereby become an exponent of academic art. Even the purely material version given by a camera rarely coincides with the academic version of the world. Freakish distortions, multiple exposures of moving objects, hazy focusing of planes raise questions that painters true to nature would have to face. Furthermore, human vision with its double foyer and prehensile focusing multiplies the problem of camera vision *ad infinitum*. And if we consider the gloze that the human brain inscribes over the margin of human vision it becomes apparent that academic art is no truer to nature than any of our modern "isms." It would have been easier fifty years ago to state that academic painters represent the world as it is. At that time "science" had a kind of cumulative and permanent meaning; since each optical fact is related to a physical, the painting of a collection of facts seemed to have a certain value as scientific data. To infringe on this pure representation, to distort imaginatively, would have been a sin against science. Since those days, though, science, having stalked matter into the atom, has shattered this atom into something more like energy than matter. The world, as modern science conceives it, is again full of mystery. Its laws are relative, submitted to a kind of free will on the part of matter. These unforeseen qualities, this dynamism, must be built into any picture that is to reproduce the scientific reality. And this structure we do find in the work of the greater subjective masters much more than in the clear-cut, clearly labelled, so-called academic painters. This justification in a larger meaning of what up to now passed as artistic temperament means that both objective and subjective beat with the same pulse. Our own human mechanism is also an integral part of the world, and as the Chinese clearly demonstrate, painting the laws of mountains and trees and riverfalls is but an introspective excursion. Painting, even if we start our quest with the commonplace assertion that one must paint "real," becomes on examination a very spiritual affair.

No matter what objects appear in the picture, the painter



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conjures them up through his use of space and volume. Their representation on a flat surface does smack of a magician's trick. That canvas and color should become human beings, trees, mountains or sheep seems more freakish than the pulling of rabbits out of hats. And it is true that a certain kind of naturalistic painting is no more than a magician's sleight of hand. Not the representation but the suggestion of space and volume is the painter's trade and therein lies the difference between imitative and creative art. If space and volume were to be absolutely convincing, art would be imitative. The painter dealing with lines and colors is bound to create a kind of third dimension, as lines and colors will do even when left to themselves. But to remain a painter one must use such magic properties with a grain of salt, wink at the onlooker to make clear the fact that the painting is only an illusion, preserve within the painting certain areas where color and canvas refuse to play the game. Hence those purposeful limitations that some deem defects in the masters: the strong unnatural outlines of Botticelli and Ingres, the undisguised brushwork of Rembrandt or Cézanne.

A sculptor achieves volume by gauging its internal space; the painter achieves volume by closing up space around it. In the true painter's language, concave and convex can stand for space and volume, as it is akin to the semi-space or semi-volume that the inside or the outside of a spoon illustrates. The painter who favors volume will contract the object and make it compact, avoid gaps between arms and torso, treat fingers as a single mass. Such shapes as those of Renoir would be translatable into good sculpture, were it not that the painter reasserts himself at the meeting point of shape and space, where the slight trembling of a line, a lack of focus will reassert this painted atmosphere that the rounding of the shape nearly denied.

Painters who select space as their major theme will prefer unsculpturesque elements whose thin members are like arrows pointing to width, height and depth. Hence the fondness of Chinese painters, space-hungry, for lean stems, bare branches



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—hence also the perspective lines and surveyors' stakes that are the lances of Ucello, the so-called "decorative" stripes of a Matisse.

Because of such hidden reasons art has built up its peculiar bric-à-brac of subject matter, a medley of fat or lean objects to which each painter and each school for an essentially abstract purpose comes back. And it is a happy coincidence that in the days when the Church was patron of the arts, the painters, translating the sacred symbols into terms of their craft, could well warm up to the combination of horizontal and vertical which is the Cross, those primary volumes with which biblical robes, stooping postures endow the human body, that pointing to cardinal directions of ladders, sticks and lances.

The hunting ground of the painter is strictly this physical world. The constructions of the mind which a philosopher, a scientist, may expose nakedly, can be referred to in painting only by representing objects possessing on the physical plane a similar order or set of properties. Many objects have a metaphysical meaning disconnected from their plastic appearance. For example though man, this microcosm, is the creator of balanced logic, his body, the only part of him with which painters may deal, with its shifting lines and suave modelings is no more able than other animal bodies to express such constructions of the mind. Yet those man-made constructions that come within the range of painting are eminent illustrations of mental processes. Hence the fondness of great periods for using the human body as only one of the ingredients of art, fortifying it with painted architectures that convey a static order; and it is this brand of human logic, that the human body fails to convey, which those tiny houses and those cubistic mountains of a Giotto bring to his pictures.

For the last half century sophisticates have jeered at paintings that tell stories. But as action follows reaction, subject-matter was to make a vengeful comeback. There is of course



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nowadays a group of painters who, stung by social consciousness, present subjects chosen to advise, infuriate, or arouse enthusiasm in the "masses." Their achievement is not weakened by the fact that such well-meaning painters did not fully realize that a new approach to the grammar of paint was the one condition essential to making the story legible. More profoundly typical of the new plebeian attitude, though forced into it very much in spite of themselves, is the position of the surrealists. It is true that the stories they tell are not at all nice, are barren of all social sense and have been industriously shorn of logic. But their pictures are definitely story-telling, with the special grammar, patient craftsmanship, photographic slavery to detail with which Gérôme glorified his odalisques and J. G. Brown his bootblacks. A look at such pictures makes it obvious that the painter is no longer painting for pleasure but that painting is truly a business which presupposes the existence of a public and caters to its reactions. Paradoxically, though there is little mental finesse behind a Monet picture, its disregard of convention, its sheer brawny relish in brush stroke and cheesy pigment, make it the aristocratic gesture of the man who does as he pleases. Though there is much sophistication behind a Dali picture its academic treatment spells the vulgarian, the man who works to please others. This is an important turning point, a very much needed attitude after the orgy of selfishness characteristic of the elder moderns. Much against their own claim, it must be said that Dali et al. bring painting back to a point where it is no longer a masturbation but a trade. In his new role of tradesman the painter must evolve a technique adjusted to the correct or moving recitation of a fable. Description becomes to him what diction is to the actor, and less trust is placed in the sheer qualities of paint.

A general comeback to story-telling is unavoidable. The craft of painting is in its healthiest state when painting is used to an end, just as a healthy body is put to work. Painting for painting's sake is like the man who is afraid of failing health and totters through desperate medication and endless build-up



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exercises. Both for art and for man an anatomical interest in one's own carcass is born of a pathological fear of death. Modern art has become thus a language of interrogation and exclamation signs, fit to express emotional climaxes or introspective states but lacking the articulations needed for objective description. To be vital the comeback to subject-matter must be linked with the creation of a fit plastic language. Unhappily the surrealists sidestepped this problem, choosing as more expedient the wholesale plundering of 19th century academies. This weakens their effort, and as is true in the case of the Preraphaelites and other "neo" movements, a still-born aroma pervades their achievement.

Braver pioneers of the new trend were perhaps the Mexicans who in the early twenties frescoed the walls of their public buildings with histories. Their painters, living as craftsmen in close union with the master masons and workmen with whom they collaborated, did work of social import, forgot the ivory tower, and were recognized as useful by their fellow men. And more important, their plastic language, though fit for descriptive purpose, was not a surrender to the past.

This is the new trend. But though it represents a most intelligent desire on the part of a painter to take his place openly in the social structure it is not without its drawbacks. Set on a pedestal the artist was at least removed from the crowd, did not interfere with its traffic. Shorn of his prestige he makes a poor showing among his would-be fellows; and workers, both the brawny and the white collared, eye him with suspicion. The truth is that painters are in the bastard position of being neither bona fide workmen, as are carpenters, plumbers, etc., nor in tune with intellectuals. Their craft is certainly manual and their dominion over their material and their zest in handling it are typically characteristic of a craftsman. But whereas one easily understands the use of a table, or of a chair, or of plumbing, and thus partakes in a social intercourse of exchange with their maker, one is more in doubt concerning the good of



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a picture. It is one of those baffling objects that like a piano are rather a nuisance unless you know how to use them.

In truth a picture is an object only in appearance. That is, a picture in the dark, though physically unchanged, is no longer a picture. Only its optical projection into the human eye gives a picture its sense and its worth. The physical object is just a projecting machine; and the optical image, the real picture, exists and functions only in the semi-physical, semi-spiritual world of the human brain. With its body as physical as is a chair or a table, its function confined to the sensorial fringe of our mental reaction, and its aims those of spiritual introspection, painting bridges our whole universe. The painter who deals in such a dubious and impractical affair will never, try as he may, be accepted as a worker among other fellow workers.

The attempt on the part of the artist to adjust his relationship to the living is only part of the problem. If all that he asks is food and shelter, the probability is that he can sneak through this life without awaking much antagonism, meanwhile making ready his post-mortem shows. More important to him, however, than this compromise with the living, the artist has to compete in his trade with the dead. They have been his tutors, too, for more painters were made conscious of their gift while making the rounds of museums than while standing in front of beautiful sunsets. But as soon as the artist starts to paint, the dead become his rivals, and from the level attained through the slow sifting of the centuries, from the vantage point of their Olympian position, they become formidably alive.

There is of course a hypnosis in museums, an awe born of the gold curlicues on frames, the dust-encrusted varnish, the labels with their ominous dates. Even more impressive, if simpler, is the approach of the painter who, though he strips the work of all this ballyhoo and the men who did it of their unwanted halos, is still confronted with an excellence so great that matching its qualities means the work of a life-time and surpassing



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them seems forbidden. The "bigger, better, faster" slogan of the mechanical engineer is here useless. Progress in paint, the amazing new colorings born of organic chemistry, the scientific theories of color separation, are of little help. The more the painter knows, the simpler his technical needs. All human expression may still come out of the few earth colors, yellow ochre, red ochre, terre verte, the black and the white that composed Apelles' palette.

This chumming with the dead, which is both a spur and a restraint, is mysteriously spoken of as Tradition. It is a popular belief that the modern artist remains aloof from such, that he willingly would burn the museums the better to build from new premises. Yet paradoxically the fact that his work has an appearance distinct from that of the masters gives it the earmark of the true follower. For the masters are such because they did not copy. Their work eternizes a peculiar climate born of themselves and their own passing world. To follow them one must also face one's self and one's world. To assume their surface quality is to misunderstand its deeper spring. Thus tradition is not, as some would have it, a pedantic historical knowledge but straightforward human relationship.

Tradition is also this continuity of the craft that leads the worker wisely to submit to the laws of his material. Instead of curving his own will to their logic the beginner fights against natural laws. He will polish a wood sculpture and make it look like china, but an adzed plank has more organic beauty. An egotist may paint a mural that surpasses architecture, but the very doors and windows of the building shame it out of plastic existence. When one knows more, one learns to collaborate with wood and pigment. A closer and more widespread bond than even that of historical tradition will thus bring into close relationship, through their use of similar materials, craftsmen who have never heard of each other. The Mayan sculptor in Yucatan, and the medieval carver of European cathedrals never met. Yet they both learned to cut their stone the same way, to re-



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spect the trace of the chisel as an enrichment to texture, to strengthen their angles towards an ideal ninety degrees, to suggest round surfaces by "cubing" them into polyhedric facettes.

If the good craftsman must be at peace with his material, he must also collaborate with his tools, including his hand and eye. Too often does the artist put them to freakish uses. Yet the way of least resistance seems to be the way to beauty. Leonardo's stroke is the left to right and downward one natural to the left-handed man. A Pompeiian fresco, a Monet, both bespeak the easy twist of the metacarpian bones that rule the brush. The perfect lines of an Altamira bison, of Michelangelo's Adam or of Rouault's Christ all obey the commonplace laws that arm and hand muscles dictate.

The laws of the body, of the material used and of history cooperate to bring all art to some common denominator. They account for much of what we know as style—that is, to the layman, the quotient of artificiality in the grasp the artist has of Nature.

Style is in a way an unwanted interference with the artist's end, for what he aims at is to give us Nature. He is unconscious of style, for style is a thing of his bones, of his craft and of his birth. But the artist, seeing Nature as a spectacle outside himself, wishes consciously to capture and assimilate her as a desirable thing that his job will make available to others. Just like the scientist, he wishes to make a census of the world in a most objective way. But his gathering of facts through optics instead of logic results in an unorthodox version, a shuffling of facts as methodical but as unexpected in its implications as the neighboring of words in a dictionary. It may be the effort needed for this new reading, the jolt to established habit, which so irks the layman that he prefers to deny the validity of such research.

Yet, while Nature contains many elements that are easily translated into words, many pragmatic things whose "why" even a dry mind may fathom, it contains also a luxury of creation, an interplay of shapes and colors that up to now no sci-



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entist has touched. A butterfly wing seems as gratuitous in the natural realm as a painting in the man-made world, and mimetism seems a poor explanation for both. Representational painting is a subtler and richer instrument than abstract art in that it gathers to our human use facts that like the bloom of a cheek, the white of a swan, the glow of the underbrush, are not as yet defined or labelled by a selfish need.

Critics, being by trade bookish, have created a fictitious artist in their own image. They jam him full of historical pedigrees, for dates are to be found in books and can be argued or authenticated. They make him also a battleground of styles, for with most of them comparison has taken the place of appreciation. They thus emphasize facts concerning historical tradition, but the laws of material and body, and this all-important holding of the mirror to Nature, are minimized or forgotten.

The artist is scarcely the introvert busy within a cult of technical "chinoiseries" that the critic makes him out to be. The few direct sayings from artists on art are so astonishingly simple they hardly bear quotation. Typical of the painter's point of view are Ingres' "Copy the model with great application" and Matisse's "One must feel that one is copying Nature."

Considering himself as a copyist the painter spares no pains or expense to catch Nature from some vantage point. Cézanne would wait patiently for days before he could ambush the sunny day, lightly clouded, which his critics translate into an esoteric geometry of color. He ordered special windows for his studio, whose carefully increased light endows still table and bottles with a Cézannian style. Rembrandt became the mechanic of his own studio, juggling light and shade through a system of panes and shutters of his own device, in whose aid he had more confidence than in the mysteries of the soul's alchemy. It is little guesswork to see Correggio musing lovingly through the Correggiesque hours of twilight. Nature, more than man, has mothered all styles. Impervious to color theories, much color photography of our own day will insistently happen in the manner of Caravaggio.



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The old-fashioned literary critic, rather a poet himself, saw more keenly than the scientific critic of today Nature's imperial quota in art. Observing through the picture the natural spectacle that had given it birth he praised the painter for his women's beauty and the serenity of sunsets. Raphael's work may be divided and studied successively for its unbroken line, its subdued use of space, its geometrically oriented volumes, its insistent local color. Those aspects may be bared under the scalpel of the critic, like the liver and lungs of beautiful women under that of the surgeon. Yet the good public are within their own right to enjoy their women undissected and state simply that Raphael is the painter of virginal beauty.

It is true that the painter, a Nature lover wishing to give you Nature undiluted, between the contemplation of a model and the exhibition of the finished picture has to go through many bizarre manipulations, many plastic speculations that will seem artificial to the lay mind. But the critic, instead of exposing these intermediate stages, should give the public a chance at the blessings of ignorance. One can enjoy the beauty of a child without rehashing the sometimes unsavory secrets of the nursery. One can see a play without crowding in the wings to rub elbows with the stage-hands. This fashion of knowing all and telling all about this craft of art-making will probably become obsolete together with the fad of art for art's sake. If representational painting is to stage its comeback soon, critics and public would do well to go back to their seats and face the stage, so that the "representation" may begin.



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# Pawns for Fascism—Our Lower Middle Class

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

OF THE various strata of human society the small tradesmen, clerks, white-collar workers and poorer farmers, who constitute the so-called lower middle class, would seem to the casual observer to be least capable of fulfilling a fateful role in contemporary social history. Yet the indications are that they hold a position in modern society of such strategic significance that the fate of modern civilization may well be decided by them. If this should prove true it is also fairly certain that their decision will be an unfortunate one.

The significance of the lower middle class does not derive from its possession of any particular political virtue or capacity. On the contrary it exceeds all classes in political ineptitude. But recent developments in lower middle class politics prove that social desperation may be compounded with political confusion into an independent political impulse of such fanatic power and such ambiguous direction that it may become the chief source of confusion in an age of confusion. Individual life is probably under stricter personal discipline in lower middle class existence than anywhere else in society. In that sense the genteel poor are a force for stability in a social structure. But they are least able to find themselves amidst the complexities of a technical civilization and the perplexities of a period of change. They are therefore potentially the chief source of social disease in modern history.

Until the post-war period the lower middle classes have never expressed a political will or fashioned a political instrument of their own. In the struggle between the landed aristocracy and commercial wealth which determined European politics during the past two centuries the lower middle classes were a politically negligible force. In both France and England they were



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the main constituents of that neutral element in the population which asked only to be left alone and which tended to give its loyalty to any government able to establish itself. The rising industrial workers of the early 19th century were more potent allies of the commercial classes in their struggle against feudalism than the poorer brethren of the middle class. They had a truer instinct for the realities of political life and a more natural inclination for collective action.

In the 20th century the most significant political and social struggles are those in which the workers are pitted against the commercial and industrial classes. Once the workers had helped the business men to destroy the aristocracy or at least to win their freedom from the political and economic disabilities which a decaying feudalism sought to impose upon commercial life, the alliance between the workers and the bourgeoisie tended to dissolve. The business classes, in safe possession of the basic economic power of modern society, naturally exchanged their radical for a conservative role. Their primary concern was to prevent the political liberties, which the workers had won in joint action with them, from becoming a source of peril to their economic power. The history of Spain during the past five years of revolution telescopes into a brief span of a few years the whole social history of Europe with its triangular struggle between landed gentry, business men and workers and its *volte face* of the upper middle class, once the destruction of feudalism has been accomplished.

It was natural to assume that the struggle between the industrial and financial oligarchs and the workers would determine the history of European civilization in the next hundred years, as the struggle between finance and land had determined its past. The prophecies based upon this assumption have been rendered fatuous and void by the sudden emergence of the lower middle classes as a distinctive political force. The consequence of this emergence is the rise of fascism. Peculiar national traits and circumstances may contribute to the rise of fascism but the deepest roots of its power lie in lower middle class life.



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The radical interpretation of fascism as essentially a contrivance for the preservation of a dying capitalistic civilization is inaccurate. Business communities come to terms with fascism because they prefer it to socialism, and without their final alliance with it fascism could not come to power so easily. But the financial oligarchy does not originate fascism. Nor does it enjoy the restraints and restrictions which fascism places upon economic life once it has come to power. The real source of fascism lies in the social resentments and the political confusion of lower middle class life.

Psychologically the basic characteristic of lower middle class life is an individualism which has only indirect contact with the collectivist tendencies of capitalism and frantically fears the collectivist creed of socialism. Economically and socially the primary determinant of petty bourgeois attitudes is the possession of minimal property in the form of savings, and the possession of a home, small business or farm. For the petty bourgeoisie the idea of property is therefore related to the idea of security. Property is not, as regards the owners of industry, a source of social and political power; and it is not regarded, so far as the workers are concerned, as the cause of social oppression. Property is the individual family's basis of security. The individualism of this attitude is accentuated by types of employment in which individual capacity, skill and diligence tend to create so many differentials in wage and income that general levels of income are obscured. As a consequence individual resourcefulness is preferred to common action in securing and protecting social status and economic security.

The reliance upon property and upon individual initiative sharply distinguishes lower middle class attitudes from those of the workers. The social experience of the workers persuades them to regard property chiefly as an instrument of social power in the hands of their opponents and to rely upon common rather than individual action for the improvement of their standards. Thus workers are naturally collectivists both in terms of their immediate trade union experience and in terms of their ulti-



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mate social philosophy. This is not quite true of American workers, among whom bourgeois individualism has maintained a considerable influence, but it is becoming increasingly true of them as well as of European workers. The lower middle classes, though sometimes poorer than skilled workers, are consequently inclined to espouse a more conservative political creed than the workers. They imagine the libertarianism of owners is identical with their own and fail to recognize the gulf between property as social power and property as minimal social security.

This social conservatism alone would not, however, have prompted the petty bourgeoisie into an independent political movement. It was, on the contrary, the cause of their long dependence upon the politics of the richer middle classes. Their ambition to establish an independent political force was created by the contraction of modern capitalism with its depreciation of property values and its consequent destruction of their social security. Whether a depression results in the foreclosure of a farmer's mortgage or the bankruptcy of a small trader or the clerk's unemployment, the common consequence is a profound resentment, which is the more bitter for its failure to articulate itself clearly. It is ignorant of the cause of, and confused about the ways of escape from, the social difficulties in which the petty bourgeoisie find themselves. The worker, at least the worker schooled in trade union solidarity, is never purely an individual. A sense of mutual dependence and a common fate binds him to his fellows and thus transmutes social difficulties into a new social hope rather than into pure desperation.

What is most interesting about the middle class situation is that the social desperation and resentment in this class, though at first dissipated in individual attitudes, has been finally molded into a collective force. This has been the work of demagogues, whose method and creed reveal striking similarities in all the western nations, however great may be the differences between them. Their economic creed, whether expressed in Hitler's idea of "freedom from interest servitude" or Father Coughlin's inflationary program or Townsend's old age pensions or the late



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Senator Long's "share the wealth" panacea, looks forward to some form of property equalization without a disturbance of basic property relations. It is profoundly ignorant of the essentially collectivist character of property in a technical society and cannot understand that the centralizing tendencies in capitalism work automatically to the advantage of the owners of big property and against the small owners. It consequently seeks to establish social security by money and credit manipulation and by moratoria upon debts and mortgages. A part of its creed, as for instance inflation, is more perilous to the savings of the lower middle classes than helpful in relieving them of their debts. Other portions of the general program, such as moratoria and credit manipulations, tend to arrest the process of expropriation to which the small owner is subject but cannot finally stop the pitiless logic of centralization.

More important than the economic creed of the demagogue is his appeal to the social resentments and his exploitation of the psychological difficulties of the lower middle classes. Racial prejudice is a common human weakness but the lower middle classes are more prone to it than either the aristocrat, the plutocrat or the worker. Each of these classes has a cosmopolitanism of its own. In petty bourgeois life a natural parochialism in social experience combines with a sense of individual frustration to create racial and national resentments and prejudices. A sense of racial superiority is a compensation to the little man for his sense of individual inferiority. Thus the "cracker" White of our South is most venomous in his prejudice against the Negro, and anti-semitism flourishes most violently among the petty traders of Germany.

Up to the present moment petty bourgeois demagogy has fortunately not yet tapped this weakness of lower middle class life in America. The history of our post-war Klan proves how vulnerable our middle class life is in this respect. One may well wait with bated breath for the moment when an artful demagogue will provide an inevitable articulation for the racial resentments of our petty bourgeois life.



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National as distinct from racial prejudice is an equally strong force among the poorer individualists. It was the force of national sentiment which helped the financial and commercial classes to defeat the feudal aristocrats. They required national unity for healthy commerce. The business classes thus first supported the king against the nobles and finally democracy against the king in their effort to overcome feudal anarchy. Having succeeded in establishing the nation the logic of a technical civilization, with its international interdependence, forced them into internationalism. They bequeathed their nationalism, as it were, to their weaker and poorer brethren. The latter were desperately in need of some symbol of social solidarity in an individualistic existence in which the sense of community was atrophied and therefore tempted to morbid compensations. Perhaps this tendency among the genteel poor was accentuated, at least in Europe, by the nationalistic internationalism of the worker, whose Marxian thought tends to perpetuate an 18th-century disregard of legitimate national sentiment.

The old conservatism and the new spirit of rebellion in middle class life naturally lead to an ambiguous political program which seeks to combine both bankers and workers in the role of a common enemy. The only justification for such a political orientation is the undoubted fact that skilled workers frequently have the collective power to protect their standards against a contracting economy better than the individualistic poor. The latter consequently feel themselves ground between the upper and the nether millstone and draw the erroneous conclusion that the two millstones are parts of the same system of oppression. Since the only similarity between capitalistic oligarchs and the industrial workers is a rationalistic inclination to disregard traditional national boundaries and sentiments, patriotic passion therefore becomes the only possible basis for opposition to both groups. In Germany fascism has accentuated the power of national sentiment by identifying it with racial solidarity. Since Jews are prominent in both finance and labor organization, though their prominence is not as disproportionate as claimed,



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they are rather effective foils for this kind of hysteria. Whatever may be said about the ludicrous character of German Nazi anti-semitism it must be admitted that it is an extremely effective instrument for combining resentments against foes who have nothing in common. The instrument gains in effectiveness because it fits so admirably into the parochial narrowness and the sense of individual inferiority of lower middle class life.

The pathetic consequence of the political ineptitude and social confusion of petty bourgeois life is that the most timid portion of a national population should give birth to so violent a social movement and that individualists should, in their effort to escape collectivism, fasten a tyrannical state upon society. The violence of timid people is not as paradoxical as it may seem, since cruelty is a natural temptation to the weak and desperate. The collectivism into which petty bourgeois individualists become betrayed is particularly defective because it is not suited to the necessities and logic of a technical age. It seeks by powerful state action to desiccate rather than to control the inevitable centralization of economic power in a technical civilization.

Lower middle class politics are consequently a retrogressive force in modern history. Without their confusion modern society would have a much clearer chance of readjusting its political structure to the necessities of its economic life. It is not at all unlikely that this confusion may become the primary cause of disaster in modern civilization. The peril of this confusion is the greater because petty bourgeois politics aggravate the anarchy of international life in the effort to overcome the anarchy within the nation.

It must be added that lower middle class attitudes have not reached the degree of desperation in the more favored nations which they attained in Italy and Germany. In France these classes are for the time being united with the workers in the popular front government of M. Blum. In America Roosevelt claims the allegiance of both workers and lower middle classes for a political program which satisfies both because ultimate



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issues are postponed in it. The alliance between the genteel and the industrial poor may function for some time in this country because the workers are only slowly disavowing bourgeois political attitudes and asserting the type of radicalism which it is the destiny of workers in western civilization to assert. Yet this alliance is insecure in both France and America. In France petty bourgeois prejudices restrict the popular front government from carrying through any rigorous policies of socialization. It must content itself with burdening a very sick economic system with additional social services, a program which will soon bring it into fiscal difficulties. The peril of fascism is far from being laid in France, though it may be averted for some time.

The wealth of America is so great, even in a time of depression, that social desperation has not yet reached any such proportions as tempt the lower middle classes of Europe into their confused rebellions. Nevertheless it is true that if Senator Long had lived the peril of American fascism might be an immediate one. Should the present prosperity prove to be a very brief respite in a general tendency of contraction (as many economists predict) lower middle class desperation would undoubtedly express itself in fascistic or semi-fascistic terms in the election of 1940. It may well become the decisive factor in our political life at that time.

It is too early to prophesy, and much too early to write, the tragic social history of our era. Europe is drifting toward a war which it seems powerless to avert. No one can predict what may lie on the other side of that conflict. But it is fairly safe to predict that if modern civilization fails to find a way out of its chaos before the anarchy of its life breeds death and destruction, the chief contributory cause of its failure will lie in the demonic force latent in the lives of all the good little people, so touching in their personal rectitude and individual discipline, who serve us in the shops, who till our soil and who perform all functions in our social mechanism with the exception of industrial labor. If that should prove true it would add a peculiar pathos to the tragedy of modern existence.



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# Lamb and Coleridge

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IN England during 1934 there were numerous evidences that that year marked the centenary of the close of the lives of Charles Lamb and Samuel Taylor Coleridge of whom it can almost be said that "in their deaths they were not divided"; for Coleridge died on July 25 and Lamb on December 27. But faint echoes of this honoring of the two Blue Coat boys have reached our country, though during Lamb's lifetime his *Essays of Elia* were more widely read and appreciated here than in England and today the 20th century school boy and girl find at least the Elian essays and the *Ancient Mariner* of Coleridge among their reading texts.

The Centenary Commemoration paid tribute not only to the genius of these two significant writers but celebrated also one of the most notable and enduring of friendships. There was strong intellectual fibre in the bond between them; more than the merely emotional—tho this gave warmth and depth to their friendship—there was as well a strong and mutual respect for each other's minds that led each to want the other's opinion on what he read and thought and wrote. Their acquaintance began when they were both pupils at Christ's Hospital School, London, which Coleridge entered in July 1782 at the age of ten and Lamb in the following October when but seven. Coleridge's intellectual power soon placed him in the small group of first rank students called "Grecians" who were thoroughly trained in the Latin and Greek classics, English literature, and some mathematics, and were expected to go on to the University. Two Grecians were annually awarded scholarships from the School with the understanding that they were to enter the Church at the close



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of their university career. Upon one of these grants Coleridge, at 19, entered Cambridge University in February 1791.

At Christ's Hospital Lamb rose to the rank of Deputy Grecian. From among these the Grecians were chosen but he never became a full Grecian because of the stammer which made a church career impossible. Wordsworth said, "Lamb was a good Latin scholar, and probably would have gone to college upon one of the school foundations but for the impediment in his speech." When, therefore, he left the school in November 1789 he had to turn his efforts toward earning his own living. Because of their difference in age Lamb and Coleridge were probably not *intimate* friends during those early school years. The Grecians were a small and distinguished group at the school, the object of admiration and respect among their fellow-pupils, and we infer from Lamb's well-known apostrophe to Coleridge in the Christ's Hospital essay published in the *London Magazine* in 1820 that the younger boy's earliest feeling for his more distinguished schoolfellow was one of admiring hero-worship.

Family circumstances hastened the maturity of Coleridge—his father died when he was 9 and his home was temporarily broken up. His mind wakened earlier than Lamb's, soared higher, and when still in school made the entire universe the object of its speculations and meditations.

It was not until the autumn of 1794, when he was 19, that the sleeping genius of Lamb was aroused to feverish activity by the impact of the brilliant and more sophisticated mind of his school hero who from now on was to be his most beloved friend. The scene of the memorable beginnings of this friendship was a little tavern in London, The Salutation and Cat, where "in that nice little smoky room—with all its associated train of pipes, tobacco, egg-hot—beguiling the cares of life with 'metaphysics and poesy,'" Lamb and Coleridge met evening after evening during the late autumn and winter of 1794–95. Coleridge had left Cambridge for the last time, after almost three years of residence, to arouse interest and raise the necessary funds for his Pantisocratic society, to be founded on the banks of the Susque-



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hanna by a group of twelve "brave young men," including himself, Robert Lovell, and Robert Southey. No communistic ideals of today are more modern or radical than the propositions of these advanced young poet-philosophers. To quote from a preface to one of Coleridge's early poems: "No sentiment has been more detrimental to mankind than the belief that the property we have is our own, and it is to be hoped that the period is not far removed when every poor man will receive a stipend from the Government under which he lives, rising in proportion to the number of his children."

Coleridge's fascinating talk was so efficacious in drawing guests to the Tavern that the host offered him free hospitality if he would continue to supply conversational entertainment. Here he met leading radicals of the day including William Godwin and the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. And here he recited poetry to Lamb and with him discussed Milton, Spenser, and other of their admirations among the "Elder Writers." For he and his young poet friends were discarding 18th century writers for the Elizabethans and their immediate successors. Lamb had no special interest in Coleridge's philosophical schemes and found it necessary to hold his job at the East India House where he had been employed in the accountants' department for two years. But his university friend's wide knowledge of the world of books stimulated his own love of poetry and stirred him to a recognition of his own genius. In dedicating to Coleridge the poetical portion of his *Works* published in 1818 Lamb recalls this early indebtedness: "You first kindled in me, if not the power, yet the love of poetry, and beauty, and kindliness." The intellectual and emotional excitement of those tavern nights were never forgotten by Lamb. But they terminated suddenly at the end of January 1795 when Southey came to London to remind Coleridge of his obligations to Sara Fricker whom he had apparently promised to marry. Southey had married one Fricker sister, Lovell another, but Sara was still unclaimed by her Pantisocrat. Reluctantly he returned to Bristol and in October of that year married the all-too-willing Sara and settled



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at Nether-Stowey the following year. With the marriage and consequent domestication of all these brave young men, thoughts of the Susquehanna and Pantisocracy melted away.

The London interlude had, however, launched the two friends on their literary career. Lamb had assisted Coleridge in his composition of a series of political sonnets in the spirit of Milton and had also written a number of love sonnets of his own. (Both young men were suffering romantically from the disappointments of unrequited love.) Four of Lamb's sonnets, signed with his initials, Coleridge included in his volume, *Poems on Various Subjects*, which reached publication in 1796. In a second edition of 1797 eleven more poems by Lamb and several by Charles Lloyd, then Coleridge's disciple, were included with those of Coleridge.

Until Coleridge's coming Lamb had been harassed by family cares and had suffered from the intense loneliness of spirit which an uncongenial environment and lack of friends can make almost unbearable to a young, ambitious and talented person. The glorious companionship of those all-too-fleeting weeks set free great emotional reserves in Lamb which found expression in his poems and in those early letters to Coleridge which mark the beginning of a memorable correspondence. "Thank you for your frequent letters," he writes in 1796, "you are the only correspondent—I might add the only friend I have in the world." Again in 1796 he writes, "I have never met with anyone, never shall meet with anyone, who could or can compensate me for the loss of your society." In these letters written before Coleridge's departure for Germany with Wordsworth in 1800 expressions of gratitude to Coleridge occur again and again. "What I owe to thee my heart can ne'er forget," he says in June 1797 —and the long, vitally alive correspondence indicates that the debt was great.

In their letters they exchange poems and Coleridge invites criticisms of his own poetry, to which Lamb responds with long and often penetrating comment that in itself is invaluable as exercise in English composition. These early letters reveal that



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for Lamb reading and writing are to be the only true reality. And from comments scattered through his letters to other friends there remains no doubt of Coleridge's affection. At this period he writes to a Cambridge acquaintance, referring to Lamb's great affliction, "the young Lady, who in a fit of frenzy killed her own mother, was the Sister of my dearest Friend, and herself dear to me as an only sister."

Coleridge's sympathy and spiritual support at this crisis in Lamb's life established the friendship between them so firmly that even the one quarrel which separated them for nearly two years could not seriously shatter it. But the ardor of those early years could not in human nature persist. For as Coleridge wrote to Lamb during the first stages of their temporary estrangement, "You clothed my image with a suit of notions and feelings which could belong to nothing human." Yet Lamb could hardly have done otherwise at the time. For it was Coleridge who helped him bear the trial of his mother's death and Mary's madness, writing to him in the "religious strain" (to use Lamb's words) that he then needed and appreciated. And it was Coleridge who persuaded him not to abandon poetry and literature as he had at first intended doing in his violent reaction to the family tragedy. (He had burned all his commonplace books in which he had copied excerpts from his reading of poetry.) It was Coleridge who gave him his first vision of a literary career and even started him on his way; and it was Coleridge who introduced him to other young writers with whom stimulating friendships developed—Robert Southey, Robert and Charles Lloyd (sons of a wealthy Quaker banker of Birmingham), Wordsworth and Hazlitt. So sensitive a nature as Lamb's could not but feel indebted to one who had given him besides all these gifts his own rare friendship. But Coleridge, though undeniably the genius that Lamb thought him, was after all very human and had weaknesses, many of them, which the young Charles Lamb could not at first see in their true perspective. The shock of disillusionment was but part of that necessary process of his mental coming of age. Coleridge's vanity and jealousy were per-



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haps at the root of the matter, for with his sudden and intense devotion to Wordsworth during their composition of the *Lyrical Ballads* came an increasing sense of his own superiority—as one set apart by his poetic power—and a consequent irritating though unconscious attitude of condescension toward his younger friends. There may too have been some jealousy over the growing friendship between Lamb and Charles Lloyd, Coleridge's Quaker disciple who had become a member of his household, and remained with him until ill health and disillusionment led him to return to his family. Lloyd seems to have made Lamb, to whom Coleridge had introduced him, a confidant of his disappointment concerning Coleridge and to have repeated to Lamb and to Southey, who was also somewhat concerned in the quarrel, some of the things that Coleridge had at various times said of them. We have a very common human situation here. Annoyed, Coleridge printed in the *Monthly Magazine* for November 1797 a series of sonnets, under an assumed name, ridiculing the poems of Lamb, Lloyd, and himself for their affectations and "puny pathos." Neither Lamb nor Lloyd appreciated this type of humor and the latter wrote to their publisher to have his verses omitted from the next edition of the poems. This Coleridge was only too glad to comply with for it was Lloyd with whom he was really angry; his feeling toward Lamb seems to have been more disappointment and sorrow than anger. For the crowning offense of Lloyd was the publication of a novel in the spring of 1798 in which certain characteristics of the hero, his "excessive sensibility," "his large glistening eye, his dark eyebrows," are recognizably those of Coleridge. But more evident were the hero's actions: his instability of purpose, his running away from Cambridge to enlist in the cavalry service. In some unwary moment of exchange of confidence Coleridge had apparently told Lloyd many details of that unhappy period of his life when under the name of Silas Tomkyns Comberbacke he had served for three or four months as a member of His Majesty's army. Like Coleridge, Lloyd's hero, Edmund Oliver, enlists because of his despair over an unsuccessful love affair; even



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the time of year, late October, is that which must have been described by Coleridge. And like the poet, Edmund Oliver comes off badly as a soldier and procures his release through the generosity of a friend (in Coleridge's case it was a brother) who pays the necessary price. This experience of Coleridge's had taken place but four years previously and seems to have been a painful memory always. To have it exposed in a novel dedicated to Lamb offended and angered him.

The breach between Lamb and Coleridge was temporarily averted by Lamb's visit to Nether-Stowey in the summer of 1797 where he met Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy. The visit was not entirely a success for Coleridge was semi-invalided by his wife's having accidentally spilled scalded milk on his foot. Unable to accompany his guests on their walks over the countryside, to which he had planned to introduce Lamb, he addressed to him, as "my gentle-hearted Charles," the poem containing the lines "This lime-tree bower my prison." But Lloyd's growing intimacy with Lamb and the appearance of his novel *Edmund Oliver*, dedicated to Charles Lamb, in the spring of 1798 angered Coleridge to the point of retaliation in letters that stirred Lamb to irritation. He seems to have announced to Dorothy Wordsworth his intention to drop Coleridge as a correspondent and as a final fling wrote him, just before Coleridge's departure for Germany, the sarcastic letter with its *Theses Quaedam Theologicae* which, as H. M. Tomlinson says, "would have ruined the tour for most of us." For to continue to quote Mr. Tomlinson, the theses "all hit on the water line, and explode, so to speak, smack in the vitals." These are a few of the theses:

1. Whether God loves a lying Angel better than a true Man?
4. Whether the higher order of Seraphim Illuminati ever sneer?
5. Whether pure intelligences can love?
8. And last, whether an immortal and amenable soul may not come to be damned at last, and the man never suspect it beforehand?

The "Theses" and Coleridge's German tour with Wordsworth made reconciliation impossible at the time. For nearly two



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years there was coolness between Lamb and Coleridge during which time Lamb wrote much and developed other friendships, including that with Thomas Manning, Charles Lloyd's mathematical tutor at Cambridge and the friend who travelled in China and brought Lamb the story which became the nucleus of the Roast Pig essay. But the affection between them was too genuine and deep to be shattered permanently by malicious gossip and petty jealousies. During the separation much had happened to Lamb. He had carried on a vigorous correspondence with his new friends, Robert Southey, Charles and Robert Lloyd, and Thomas Manning. The exchange of criticism which had formed so large a part of the correspondence between Lamb and Coleridge continued in this wider exchange of letters and gave Lamb the confidence necessary to lift him from the rôle of mere discipleship. And his own literary activity had resulted in several short poems, the poetical drama *John Woodvil*, and the prose narrative *Rosamond Gray*, all of which were published by the end of the century. No longer lonely, Lamb was soon to complain of his "knock eternal" visitors. At 25 he had emerged as a personality, confident of his powers, indulgently amused at the over-serious, timid, rather mawkish youth that he had been.

Coleridge's return to London in 1800 gave occasion for renewal of his friendship with Lamb and a return of mutual sympathy and admiration. To Lamb's delight Coleridge became his and Mary's guest while the latter was translating Schiller's *Wallenstein*. On Lamb's part the renewed friendship was if less ecstatic more companionable, more wisely understanding and almost protecting in its attitude. Seeing Coleridge's weaknesses now in their proper perspective he yet admired as genuinely his superior genius and voluntarily surrendered to the magic of his conversation and the brilliance of his intellectual charm. Probably no one estimated genius with so keen a penetration and balanced an appraisal as did Charles Lamb. Not only in Coleridge but in Wordsworth and Hazlitt as well he seemed able to brush aside human weaknesses and idiosyncrasies and without a tinge of jealousy find and cling to the rare quality at the core.



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Thus he recognized Coleridge's waywardness, his pomposity, his occasional lack of humor, his utter forgetfulness of his listeners when he was once launched on a conversational exploration. For we recall the question: "Charles, have you ever heard me preach?" with its mischievous reply, "I have never heard you do anything else." And there comes to mind also Carlyle's (perhaps spleenish) impression of Coleridge talking—"with eager musical energy two stricken hours, his face radiant and moist, and communicating no meaning whatsoever to any individual of his hearers"—a description which, again, suggests Max Beerbohm's drawing, "Coleridge Table Talking," a crystallization in caricature of similar currents of rumor. Here the poet sits in his chair at the head of the table, emphasizing his ideas by unconscious gestures, while all the assembled company have quietly surrendered to appearances and gone happily to sleep. But there is the other side of the picture, sketched by Lamb and others, of the "divine voice in conversation or recitation" when the vision of Kubla Khan is repeated "so enchantingly that it irradiates and brings heaven and Elysian bowers into my parlor while he sings or says it." For Lamb there was always in the person of Coleridge something of the early radiance that he had captured in those first years of their friendship. He was ever ready to fall willing victim to the poet's charms.

Yet to their friendship Lamb contributed more than admiration. Time and again he took charge of seeing Coleridge's manuscript through the press to relieve him of the expense of remaining in London. Therefore in 1800 he writes, "Take no thought of your proof-sheets [of the *Wallenstein* translation]; they shall be done as if Woodfall himself did them." And a few years later he is classifying Coleridge's poems for the edition that Longmans is printing. Again he is buying books and supplies to send to Coleridge's lakeside retreat. "I have just received your commission-abounding letter." And when Coleridge is about to sail for Malta in 1805 to become Governor Alexander Ball's secretary he reveals Lamb's thought of him in a letter to their mutual friend John Rickman, secretary to the House of Commons:



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The East India House has very politely made me a present through Mr. Charles Lamb, an *Eminent* in the India Service, of a hundred or so of Pens, and if the House of Commons would do the same with a stick or two of wax, in short any little additament. . . .

Meanwhile Mary is sending solicitous instructions to Sara Stoddart, Hazlitt's future wife, who is visiting her brother in Malta. "Behave to him as you would to me, or to Charles, if we came sick and unhappy to you." No wonder Coleridge wrote of her, "My dear, most dear and most excellent friend and heart's sister, Mary Lamb." When in 1817 Coleridge is giving one of his series of public lectures in London Lamb is, unknown to him, writing to various influential friends to help make the lectures a success. Meanwhile Lamb's letters reveal many a penetrating criticism of Coleridge's writings and much discussion of their common reading.

To all of this Coleridge was far from indifferent. Even from such meagre source material as his letters to other friends we glean convincing evidence of his admiration of Lamb's genius and appreciative reciprocation of his affection. Again and again through his letters recur such phrases as "to quote Charles Lamb," or "Charles Lamb justly observed," or "I might adopt Elia's words," or "as Charles Lamb says." Sometimes Coleridge copies out long passages from Lamb's letters to him; again he sends an entire letter of Lamb's requesting his correspondent to be sure to return it, as in the case of the celebrated "Epistola Porcina," to use Coleridge's own title for the letter which contains a first draft of much of the matter of the essay on Roast Pig. The very fact that so many of Lamb's letters to Coleridge survive indicates the value which the latter must have attached to them.

Most significant of his regard for Lamb's talents are Coleridge's scattered comments on his critical acumen. In the early days of their exchange of criticism of each other's poetry he wrote to Cottle, his publisher:

If you delay the press it will give me the opportunity I so much wish of sending my Visions of the Maid of Arc to Wordsworth, who lives



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not above twenty miles from this place; and to Charles Lamb, whose taste and judgment, I see reason to think more correct and philosophical than my own, which yet I place pretty high.

And to Godwin, who had then recently become acquainted with Lamb, he wrote:

I am glad that you think of him as I think; he has an affectionate heart; a mind *sui generis;* his taste acts so as to appear like the unmechanic simplicity of an instinct. . . . Lamb every now and then *irradiates,* and the beam, though single and fine as a hair, is yet rich with colors, and I both see and feel it.

Lamb's own appraisal of the *Lyrical Ballads* well illustrates this sureness of judgment that Coleridge esteemed so highly.

I have written so much, only that you may not think I have passed over your book without observation. I am sorry that Coleridge has christened his Ancient Mariner "a poet's Reverie"—it is as bad as Bottom the Weaver's declaration that he is not a lion but only the scenical representation of a Lion. What new idea is gained by this Title, but one subversive of all credit, which the tale should force upon us, of its truth? . . . I totally differ from your idea that the Mariner should have had a character and a profession. . . . The Ancient Mariner undergoes such trials, as overwhelm and bury all individuality or memory of what he was, like the state of a man in a bad dream, one terrible peculiarity of which is; that all consciousness of personality is gone. Your other observation is I think as well a little unfounded: the Mariner from being conversant in supernatural events *has* acquired a supernatural and strange cast of *phrase,* eye, appearance, etc. which frighten the wedding guest. . . . I could too have wished the Critical preface had appeared in a separate treatise. All its dogmas are true and just, and most of them new, *as* criticism. But they associate a *diminishing* idea with the Poems which follow, as having been written for *Experiment* on the public taste, more than having sprung (as they must have done) from living and daily circumstances.

The criticism gives evidence too of Lamb's independence and sturdy mental fibre, for as we recall, the frankness of the criticism and its preference for *The Ancient Mariner* displeased Wordsworth and moved him to write an angry reply which



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Lamb always referred to as his "northern castigation." We wish indeed that we might see that rebuke and Lamb's "merry letter" that he promised in reply.

Their mutual respect for each other's writing led Coleridge and Lamb to collaborate in their younger days. For Coleridge's tragedy *Osario* Lamb wrote the prologue. Though the play was at first rejected it was some years later produced successfully at Drury Lane Theatre and published under the title *Remorse*. Some of their projects were more ambitious than practical and failed to materialize. Such was the plan to write a "History of British Literature, bibliographical, biographical, and critical," with Coleridge, Southey, Rickman and Lamb collaborating. Of this Coleridge wrote to Southey in 1803, "Good Heavens! If you and I, Rickman and Lamb, were to put our shoulders to one volume, a complete History of the Dark Ages—if Rickman would but take the physics, you the romances and legendary theology, I the metaphysics, and Lamb be left to say what he liked in his own way—what might not be done?"

From the time of his departure from Cambridge Coleridge had been contributing intermittently, with a fair degree of success, to various London newspapers. In 1800, upon his return to London from Germany, he urged Lamb to try to eke out his meagre income through journalism and as Lamb expressed it "he lugged me to the brink of engaging to a newspaper." Through Coleridge's influence Lamb was engaged to write for the *Morning Post*, then edited by Daniel Stuart, one of the ablest newspaper editors of his day. He assigned Lamb to the writing of dramatic reviews, a chore which proved too irksome an accompaniment to his East India job, but during Lamb's brief connection with the newspaper he produced two works of significance in his development as an essayist. The first of these was a review of the actor G. F. Cooke in *Richard III*, published by Stuart and later incorporated in the brilliant essay *On the Tragedies of Shakespeare*, published in 1811. The second important assignment, the beginning of a series of essay sketches



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on London, Stuart also published, but he did not encourage Lamb to go on with this kind of work. Lamb called his essay *The Londoner* and composed the greater part of it beforehand in various letters to his friends. It is of importance because it anticipates the manner and method of those essays he was later to write under the name of Elia. And its publication probably did much to turn him toward essay writing as an avocation. For his friend Thomas Manning, the Cambridge mathematician, to whom he sent a copy of the published essay, wrote back that he liked it very much and felt that if his friend would write a volume of essays in that strain he might be very successful.

But Stuart would have no more of Lamb's journalism. "As for good Charles Lamb, I never could make anything out of his writings" he said. Therefore until opportunity presented itself for the publication of further essays Lamb returned to his loved "elder Writers" and dreamed again of making them more widely known. Some years earlier he had suggested this as a project for Coleridge but nothing came of it. Then Southey interested the publishers, Longmans, in the scheme and finally Lamb was engaged to prepare *Specimens of the English Dramatic Writers who lived about the time of Shakespeare*, a work completed and published in 1808. Only by remembering how greatly these dramatists had been neglected by 18th century readers can we appreciate the importance of Lamb's work in their revival and understand the pleasure and pride with which he always regarded his *Specimens*. Later critics have confirmed the judgment of Lamb and his friends. "To him and to him alone," says Swinburne, "it is that we owe the revelation of our greatest dramatic poets after Shakespeare." And Walter Pater calls him not only "an expositor, permanently valuable, but for Englishmen almost the discoverer of the old English drama."

We have evidence from his letters that Coleridge was deeply interested in this work of Lamb's. He writes to DeQuincey of having walked to and from Lamb's house to procure his manuscript selections from the Dramatists; and of the finished work he comments to Southey, "It is done with excellent taste, the



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notes that I have seen . . . are delicious." And again he refers to these notes as "of just and original criticism, expressed with all the freshness of originality."

It was this originality of Lamb's genius that Coleridge was wont to praise. He even felt that it was imitated by others. For of Hazlitt he wrote in 1816, "Almost all the *Sparkles* and *originalities* of his Essays are, however, in spite of his considerable talent, echoes from poor Charles Lamb." Hazlitt in turn stated that "Lamb has furnished many a text for Coleridge to preach upon." And it seems strange coincidence that Coleridge in his lectures on Shakespeare in 1811, Hazlitt in his *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, published in 1817, and Lamb in his drama article, "Theatralia," published in *The Reflector* in 1811, should all have made the same critical comment—that Shakespeare's plays are better read than acted. But when we recall how intimate these friends were, how often they gathered together for conversational evenings on men and books, it is not at all surprising to find them expressing somewhat similar ideas, often the result of their discussions.

And when they could not meet they exchanged ideas in letters. After their reconciliation in 1800 Lamb's letters to Coleridge are among the best of the many that have come down to us. Again and again the essays for which he found no magazine outlet are expressed in embryonic stage in his letters. And critical comments on books exchanged reveal the mental vigor that characterized their reading.

Of his own library Lamb could well boast in later years for he began early, in spite of poverty and frequent moving, to accumulate a choice collection. A jotting in Crabb Robinson's famous *Diary* for 1824, after he had made a call on the Lambs, suggests the value of the library: "I looked over Lamb's library in part. He has the finest collection of shabby books I ever saw; such a number of first-rate works of genius . . . is, I think, nowhere to be found." Strangely enough the choicest volumes of this library came to America after Mary Lamb's death in 1847 and were sold at auction, first in New York. Some of them



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have been turning up at auction sales of private libraries ever since.

Upon Coleridge's removal to Highgate in 1816, where he lived with Dr. and Mrs. Gilman for the rest of his life, the letters between him and Lamb became less frequent for the friends saw each other often. From Coleridge's letters to other friends we learn that Charles and Mary Lamb were frequent callers on Sundays and on Coleridge's Thursday evenings. And when he was able, Coleridge visited them. Meanwhile he followed Lamb's *Essays of Elia* appearing in the *London Magazine* from 1820 to 1825 with full appreciation of their flavor. Of the one inspired by Lamb's release from the India House Coleridge wrote to the publisher of the *Magazine*, Mr. Hessey, in 1825, "I am *delighted* with the 'Superannuated Man.' I have read it a dozen times at least. It is worthy of Charles Lamb in his happiest Carolo-lambian Hour. And that is saying a great deal." And in a note he adds, recollecting a choice sentence from the essay, " 'I stammered out a bow'—Exquisite. None but C. L. could have written that." The essay is notable for one or two passages of Lamb's best prose, one a paragraph on Time. Speaking of his emancipation from the East India House when he was retired on a pension in 1825 he says:

> It was like passing out of time into Eternity—for it is a sort of Eternity for a man to have his Time all to himself. It seemed to me that I had more time on my hands than I could ever manage. From a poor man, poor in Time, I was suddenly lifted up into a vast revenue; I could see no end of my possessions; I wanted some steward, or judicious bailiff, to manage my estates in Time for me. . . . I am in no hurry. Having all holydays, I am as though I had none. If Time hung heavily upon me, I could walk it away; but I do *not* walk all day long, as I used to do in those old transient holydays, thirty miles a day, to make the most of them. If Time were troublesome, I could read it away, but I do *not* read in that violent measure, with which, having no Time my own but candelight Time, I used to weary out my head and eyesight in by-gone winters. I Walk, read or scribble (as now) just when the fit seizes me. I no longer hunt after pleasure; I let it come to me.

In the same year that Lamb wrote this, the last of his *great*



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Elian essays, Coleridge published *Aids to Reflection*, his last sustained piece of writing. For the next few years, until his health failed, he continued to record his *Table Talk*—published after his death—and to discuss philosophy and religion with his friends and disciples. His interest in these later years was in a philosophical system he hoped to formulate for posterity.

With the passing of the years and in spite of the increasing distance which separates the two friends after Lamb and his sister have left London there is deepening of affection and an increasing tenderness in their feeling for each other. We catch glimpses of this on both sides in such incidents as that of Lamb's sending Coleridge the caricature of himself by Brook Pulham with the following note, ". . . whatever its pretensions, I know it will be dear to you, towards whom I should wish my thoughts to flow in a sort of undress rather than in the more studied graces of diction." And in 1832 there is the note from Lamb in reply, apparently, to Coleridge's anxiety over having offended his friend unintentionally: "Not an unkind thought has passed in my brain about you. . . . If you ever thought an offence, much more wrote it, against me, it must have been in the times of Noah; and the great waters swept it away. Mary's most kind love. . . ."

Before his death, less than two years later, Coleridge paid Lamb one of the finest tributes Lamb ever received:

> Charles Lamb has more totality and individuality of character than any other man I know, or have ever known in all my life. In most men we distinguish between the different powers of their intellect as one being predominant over the other. The genius of Wordsworth is greater than his talent, tho' considerable. The talent of Southey is greater than his genius, tho' respectable; and so on. But in Charles Lamb it is altogether one; his genius is talent, and his talent is genius, and his heart is as whole and one as his head.

And on his death-bed he wrote beside the poem that he had composed to Lamb in 1797, "This lime-tree bower my prison," "Charles and Mary Lamb—dear to my heart, yea, as it were, my heart. S.T.C. Aet. 63, 1834, 1797–1834, 37 years!"



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## Lamb and Coleridge

The death of "glorious S.T.C.," as Lamb once called him, occurred July 25, 1834 and had a shattering effect upon Lamb. He was unable to attend the funeral and for some time could not grant the requests that came to him to write a memorial article. Finally in November he wrote in a friend's album the following tribute which John Forster incorporated in his memorial article on Lamb in the *New Monthly Magazine* of which he was editor:

> When I heard of the death of Coleridge, it was without grief. It seemed to me that he long had been on the confines of the next world, —that he had a hunger for eternity. I grieved then that I could not grieve. But since, I feel how great a part he was of me. His great and dear spirit haunts me. I cannot think a thought, I cannot make a criticism on men or books, without an ineffectual turning and reference to him. He was the proof and touchstone of all my cogitations. . . . Great in his writings, he was greatest in his conversation. In him was disproved that old maxim, that we should allow every one his share of talk. He would talk from morn to dewy eve, nor cease till far midnight, yet who ever would interrupt him,—who would obstruct that continuous flow of converse, fetched from Helicon or Zion? He had the tact of making the unintelligible seem plain. . . .
>
> He was my fifty years old friend without a dissension. Never saw I his likeness, nor probably the world can see again. I seem to love the house he died at more passionately than when he lived. I love the faithful Gilmans more than while they exercised their virtues toward him living. What was his mansion is consecrated to me as a chapel.

In July 1934 the London *Times* Literary Supplement on its front page used as the title for its anniversary article on Coleridge those words of Lamb which his friends so often heard him exclaim during the months between Coleridge's death and his own—"Coleridge is Dead!"

The separation of Coleridge and Lamb was short, for on December 27 of the same year, 1834, at the age of 59, Lamb died at Edmonton, a suburb of London, and was buried in the churchyard there. So came to a close one of the most beautiful friendships in the annals of English literature.



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# The Dismal Science: World Politics

## The Year's Books on International Affairs

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

IF I read as many books as other men," once remarked Thomas Hobbes, "I should know as little as they." Even scholars who pore laboriously over the literature of their special fields must sometimes sympathize with this unscholarly sentiment. In an epoch of almost constant crisis in international affairs the output of books on world politics has become truly staggering. Whether this flood has contributed significantly to knowledge is perhaps debatable. Whether the resulting knowledge has had, or will have, the slightest influence in modifying the attitudes and behavior of governments and peoples is even more debatable. But the flood continues and the scholar must pick his way as best he can, hoping somewhere to find a secure footing for his own understanding if not for the wavering statesmanship of an unregenerate world stumbling toward chaos.

To select a few volumes out of many and to label them "distinctive" or "outstanding" is always invidious as well as perilous. Book reviewers and teachers, like the French poilus at Verdun, too often act on the slogan: "They shall not pass!" As an author not always well received by reviewers, and as a reviewer not always generous to other authors, the present writer is painfully aware of the dangers of the present enterprise.

The dilemma of contemporary international relations arises out of the apparent inability of organized human intelligence to devise any adequate method of reconciling order with justice in the community of nations. Order requires security for established rights. Justice requires redress of legitimate grievances.



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Within democratic societies both are assured, save in periods of abnormal tension and unrest. In the world society of nation-states neither is assured. The "haves" who enjoy the benefits of established rights usually refuse all concessions to the "have-nots" lest they lose all. The "have-nots" therefore become frantic and resort to violence to satisfy their aspirations. Violence destroys both order and justice. The year 1936 was a year of widespread violence, actual or threatened, in the arena of world politics. In Ethiopia and Spain justice was put to the sword. In the Rhineland law was destroyed by lawlessness. Everywhere the champions of order, hesitating between concessions to the dissatisfied on the one hand and collective repression of criminality on the other, fell between two stools and did nothing. Security vanished. Neutrality became a will-o'-the-wisp. Before the desperate legions of new militarisms and fanaticisms the defenders of liberty and peace equivocated, surrendered or sought refuge in isolation and irresponsibility.

This drift toward catastrophe was reflected in a bewildering variety of popular and learned works.[1] Only a few of these can here be given special attention. The fallacies of imperialist logic, which, like the charms of Circe, continue so to fascinate men as to drive them toward their doom, were never more fully revealed than in two complementary volumes by Grover Clark, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism* (New York, Columbia University Press) and *A Place in the Sun* (New York, Macmillan). That colonies and conquests do not relieve population pressure or furnish important markets for goods, capital or raw materials or pay any dividends to the masses in the mother country commensurate with their cost in blood and treasure has long been suspected. But Mr. Clark, not content with allegations, has painstakingly gathered the facts and presented them in rich and imposing array. His case against economic imperialism admits of no logical refutation. A few governments, including that of the United States, have accepted this logic and beat a

[1] All books here reviewed or cited were published during the calendar year 1936.



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belated retreat.[2] But most governments and peoples are moved less by logic than by romance or by illogical greed. Colonies are seldom sought as a means toward economic well-being but are often coveted as a measure of power and prestige.

The psychology and strategy of imperialism are more decisive than its economics. This tragic fact Mr. Clark tends to overlook, as do the thinkers, writers and statesmen who hope to satisfy the unsatiated states by "sharing the wealth" through a redistribution of colonies and raw materials—to the advantage of Germany, Italy and Japan.[3] Here too it is assumed by some—erroneously—that Fascist aggression, flowing from mass megalomania and desperate social and psychic contradictions, can be bribed away or bought off by some *quid pro quo*—without the *quo*. In reality Fascist imperialism admits of no compromise because every Fascist régime is driven toward conquest by inexorable internal compulsions which are beyond cure by economic means save after collapse and revolution. It is to escape revolution that Fascism persecutes domestic scapegoats[4] and unsheathes the sword against foreign peoples.[5]

Before Armageddon the cry for peace goes up as of old[6] and

[2] See G. L. Kirk, *Philippine Independence*, Farrar and Rinehart; G. A. Malcolm, *The Commonwealth of the Philippines*, Appleton-Century; O. W. Wilcox, *Nations Can Live at Home*, Norton.

[3] See Norman Angell, *Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War*, World Peace Foundation, and A. Salter and N. Bentwich, *Peace and the Colonial Problem*, National Peace Council, London; but see also H. R. O. Greaves, *Raw Materials and International Control*, Methuen, London; R. R. Kuczynski, *Population Movements*, Oxford Press; L. Middleton, *The Rape of Africa*, Smith and Haas; A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends*, Oxford Press; Griffith Taylor, *Environment and Nation*, University of Chicago Press; and W. Y. Elliott, *International Control of Non-Ferrous Metals*, Harvard University Press.

[4] See H. Valentine, *Anti-Semitism*, Viking; and M. Lowenthal, *The Jews of Germany*, Longmans, Green.

[5] See T. Ishimaru, *Japan Must Fight Britain*, Telegraph Press; A. E. Hindmarsh, *The Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy*, Harvard University Press; A. Tanin and E. Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*, International Publishers; V. A. Yakhontoff, *Eyes on Japan*, Coward-McCann; Ernst Henri, *Hitler Over Russia*, Dent, London; Count Sforza, *Europe and Europeans*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis; M. T. Florinsky, *Fascism and National Socialism*, Macmillan; J. L. Spivak, *Europe Under the Terror*, Simon and Schuster; H. F. Armstrong, *We or They: Two Worlds in Conflict*, Macmillan.

[6] Merle Curti, *Peace or War—The American Struggle, 1636-1936*, Norton; Quincy Wright, *Causes of War and Conditions of Peace*, Longmans, Green.



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salvation is sought in reiterated attempts to explain the disaster of 1914-1918.[7] Meanwhile preparations for even bloodier slaughter proceed on an immense scale[8] and a new Machiavelli arises in the person of Bruce Winton Knight, professor of economics at Dartmouth, to tell the ruling classes *How to Run a War* (A. A. Knopf). This brilliant satirical work is half-serious, half-comic and altogether cynical—though no more so than the wielders of power to whom it is addressed. It is rich in illustrative material drawn from the First World War. From an analysis of the results therein achieved Professor Knight undertakes to tell governments how to do a better job in the Second World War to come. Each chapter sets forth maxims and precepts appropriate to its title: "How to Lie for Your Country," "How to Kill People," "How to Organize the Killing Business," "How to Make the Enemy Pay for It" (it can't be done, avers the author), "How to Make Your Allies Pay for It" (also impossible, it seems), "How to Make the Poor Pay for It" (simple; Knight tells how), and "How to Compute the Dividends." The principles here adduced, whether offered in jest or no, conform to the lessons of sound political and military science. That these sciences—and all science—are about to be used to consummate the suicide of civilization, at least on the European Continent, is a result not of the perversity of the scientists but of the chaos of the world.

The anatomy of this chaos has seldom been more ably dissected than in the pages of R. Palme Dutt's *World Politics, 1918-1936* (Random House). Here is a frankly Marxist diagnosis, but one which is subtle and sophisticated, and sufficiently provocative, stimulating and fundamentally true to deserve the close attention of all observers of a world gone mad. The basic contemporary problem of world politics as Dutt sees it (and all

[7] Liddell Hart, *The War in Outline, 1914-1918*, Random House; David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, Volume 5, Little, Brown; Eric Sutton (tr.), *Memoirs of Count Bernstorff*, Random House; Charles Seymour, *American Neutrality, 1914-1917*, Yale University Press; Newton D. Baker, *Why We Went to War*, Harper.

[8] See John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, revised edition, Harper, and R. M. Stein, *M-Day: The First Day of War*, Harcourt, Brace.



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sane people will agree) is the problem of integrating and unifying the community of nations into a political whole commensurate with the technological, economic and cultural unity which western civilization has already achieved. Without such political unity the states of the West must stumble from conflict to conflict, from tragedy to tragedy, until civilization itself is irreparably shattered and descends into the shades. Unity is no longer possible through the conquest of the world by a single state. Unity by way of voluntary federation, *i.e.*, the League of Nations, is rendered impossible by the very forces making for combat and catastrophe: the economic and political self-seeking of competing national élites, caught ever more tightly in the strangling web of monopolistic capitalism and driven ever more swiftly toward militarism, dictatorship, imperialism, tyranny and mutual annihilation. Few will deny the validity of Dutt's analysis. Few, however, will be converted to his remedy. Like other Marxists, he sees unity and salvation only through the international proletariat which will overthrow the warring ruling classes in social revolution and at long last realize the brotherhood of man.

This apocalyptic vision, noble in conception and inspiring in its grandeur, is lacking only in the necessary means and prerequisite conditions to place it within the realm of the possible. Social revolution is never the preventive but always the aftermath of catastrophe. Only when the holders of property and power have, by their blindness and greed, driven millions of humble and obedient subjects to a condition of utterly intolerable misery will the subjects raise questions and express doubts and rise in revolt against their masters. Even in a self-sufficient agrarian state social revolution means social disintegration, starvation and death on an appalling scale.[9] Out of ruin may emerge a new civilization—perhaps.[10] But social revolution in the industrialized and thickly populated communities of cen-

[9] See G. Vernadsky, *History of Russia*, Little, Brown.

[10] See Sidney and Beatrice Webb's fascinating and exhaustive *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* Scribner's.



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tral and western Europe may well spell the extinction of the societies thus afflicted. Revolution is politically possible, moreover, only in the wake of defeat in a major war. Revolution may follow the war to come. It cannot prevent it. And it may scarcely matter who rules over the dust and ashes of a world reduced to wreckage by war, with revolution in its wake.

For the immediate future the price of peace is not revolution but the organization of an effective system of collective security capable of restraining aggressors. This price the democracies of the West have thus far been unwilling to pay. In the face of each act of Fascist lawlessness they have timidly retreated. Manchuria has been surrendered to Japan, Ethiopia to Italy, the Rhineland to Hitler, the Spanish Republic to the Fascist International. In this situation the League of Nations cannot function as an instrument of law and order.[11] It has become a cloak for irresponsibility. The crisis of Geneva, and the relationship of the United States thereto, are admirably dealt with in the 1936 volume of the Harris Foundation Lectures, *Neutrality and Collective Security* (University of Chicago Press). In a series of valuable appendices Professor Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago has brought together much of the essential documentary material bearing upon League sanctions against Italy, the Pact of Paris, the Argentine Anti-War Pact and American neutrality legislation as applied to the Ethiopian conflict. In the lectures themselves Sir Alfred Zimmern of Oxford sets forth lucidly the political and economic aspects of collective security; Ambassador William E. Dodd depicts in challenging fashion "The Dilemma of Modern Civilization"; Charles Warren, former Assistant Attorney General of the United States, analyzes brilliantly the neutrality problem before Congress; and Dean Edwin D. Dickinson discusses the role of the United States in collective security. These authorities are agreed that if collective security can be made to work at all (an increasingly dubious assumption) its success will re-

[11] See Sir Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-1925*, Macmillan.



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quire American cooperation or at least American acquiescence. Professor Shotwell in *On the Rim of the Abyss* (Macmillan) has argued eloquently for graduated obligations to enforce law and order, modified according to the participant's interest in, and distance from, the scenes of lawlessness and disorder. According to this conception the United States might reasonably be expected to lend at least negative cooperation to League sanctions in the name of upholding the Pact of Paris.

But this hope would seem to be already futile. So far as America is concerned peace will be had—if had at all—not through the prevention of war in a world system of collective security but through some attempted retreat into an isolationist neutrality. The record of the past does not encourage optimism regarding the probable success of this attempt. The background of American neutrality policy from the late middle ages through the Great War is presented on a high level of erudition by a small group of jurists, historians and economists in the four-volume *Neutrality—Its History, Economics and Law* (Columbia University Press), edited and in part written by Professor Philip C. Jessup of Columbia. A more popular but no less sound and scholarly analysis of the present problem is to be found in *Can We Keep Out of War?* (Norton) by Phillips Bradley of Amherst.[12] Professor Bradley clearly expresses the political and economic impossibility of an effective isolationist neutrality in the event of general war abroad. Like most students of the issue he leans toward a discretionary, differential neutrality which will not treat aggressors and victims of aggression alike and will not do violence to such slender hopes of a League system of collective security as still remain alive. It seems clear, however, that American isolationists (and even American pacifists) are unprepared to pay even this small price for peace.

From a longer perspective the future of America in world politics can scarcely be dissociated from that of other democratic states and from that of the Western State System as a

[12] See also A. W. Dulles and H. F. Armstrong, *Can We Be Neutral?* Harper.



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whole.[13] American interests abroad are too extensive to be abandoned. They can be protected by American arms only at the risk of war. The naval race with Japan, if unchecked by a limitation agreement or by cooperation between the United States and other Powers interested in restraining Japanese aggression, can have but one end.[14] American interests everywhere might be adequately protected without war only if the United States were willing to cooperate in collective security *and* if other Powers were equally willing to make sacrifices and run risks for the sake of peace *and* if the American Government were willing to eschew policies of provocation. Only the third "if" seems likely of realization in the near future.

This "if" looms large in the most scholarly and readable one-volume history of American foreign policy which has yet appeared, Samuel Flagg Bemis' *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (Henry Holt and Company). Professor Bemis of Yale has not only written an unusually complete and penetrating narrative of American foreign relations from their beginning but—what is rarer and more welcome in the academic profession—he has not hesitated to express his own judgment regarding specific contemporary issues. He believes that the greatest single mistake in American diplomacy was the acquisition of the Philippines in 1898 and the championship of the "Open Door" in China. He welcomes Philippine independence and the retreat from imperialism. Most students will heartily agree with him that a genuine and constructive Pan-Americanism is impossible without the abandonment of crudely imperialistic policies, and that peace in the Pacific requires either the withdrawal of American outposts and interests in the Orient or collaboration with other Powers interested in maintaining the *status quo*. Professor Bemis feels that the United States ought not to conduct itself as a "Great Power" in the world society but only as a "Continental" Power in the western hemisphere.

[13] See Benjamin H. Williams, *American Diplomacy*, McGraw-Hill, and W. H. Shepardson and W. O. Scroggs, *The United States in World Affairs, 1934-1935*, Harper.

[14] See Henry L. Stimson, *The Far Eastern Crisis*, Harpers, and S. Denlinger and C. B. Gary, *War in the Pacific*, Robert M. McBride.



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He also feels that American non-membership in the League of Nations was wise since it gave the United States time "to watch and wait until it becomes certain that the other great powers are surely willing to make unselfish sacrifices to keep the peace all over the globe. I am afraid that time will not come until there has been much more suffering by the human race. It must come at length, or European civilization, as we know it, will perish from the earth."[15]

If the books of 1936 on world affairs appear in retrospect to give an impression of almost unrelieved pessimism regarding the future of the Western State System, the cause scarcely lies in the melancholy mien of scholars, journalists and other publicists nor even in their realization that the world knows little and cares less about their message. It lies in the all-too-evident fact that the nation-states, even as they slowly and painfully emerge from the calamitous depression precipitated, belatedly, by the last world conflict, are sinking into a morass of impending bloodshed and devastation which promises to submerge for all time the few remaining vestiges of sanity and progress in western culture. Salvation at this eleventh hour is perhaps still to be had by a league of democratic states (including the United States and the U.S.S.R.) against the Fascist coalition. In the present generation, however, action is never taken at the eleventh hour but only at half-past midnight. During 1936 democracy surrendered to Fascism in Africa, in the Mediterranean and on the Rhine. During 1937 Rome, Berlin and Tokyo may be expected, in the opinion of the majority of writers, to push their ambitions and demands to a point at which the League Powers can yield no more without yielding up every remnant of their own security and every pretense of their power. During 1938 Fascism, according to many observers, will push them to the wall. Having refused to resist when resistance might have averted fighting, and

[15] See also J. Huizinga, *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*, Norton; T. H. Wintringham, *The Coming World War*, Lawrence and Wishart, London; and C. Hartley Grattan, *Preface to Chaos: War in the Making*, Dodge.



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having no final choice, they will fight in desperate hopelessness against a hopelessly desperate and implacable enemy. The sequel of wreckage and waste may well cause the gloomiest of the seers of 1936 to appear naively optimistic. The study of international relations has replaced economics as the "dismal science," for its subject-matter is decay and its end, now fast approaching on the wings of the whirlwind, futility and death.

# Bright Bird, Ascend

EDWARD WEISMILLER

Bright bird, whose western run
Was evident with sun,
Ignore this last, most golden bough
Shaped for your resting: now
Forsake the bat-light: soar
Endlessly, wildly, but no more
Frequent these lower skies.
Ascend, I tell you; rise.

Climb with thin, difficult breath:
Bright bird, there is no death
For you save darkness. Mount the wrack
Of cloud in the wind's track:
Fly steeply: kindle: burn
At length in the sun's last fitful turn,
Blinded, it may be, done;
Lost; but at last, in sun.



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# C. I. O. *vs.* A. F. of L.

PAUL BRISSENDEN

THE year 1936 was a crucial one in the American labor movement—and for American wage-earners, in and out of it. At its last annual convention, held last November at Tampa, Florida the American Federation of Labor, which is that movement's organizational head and center, confirmed the action taken on August 5th by its Executive Council, suspending ten of its affiliated international unions—organizations with an aggregate membership of nearly a million workers, well over one-fourth of the total membership of the Federation. The ground for this action was the refusal of these ten affiliates to sever their connections with the Committee on Industrial Organization, launched late in 1935 under the leadership of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, the largest union in the Federation and one of the suspended ten.

Our labor movement, then, is split wide open. The fact that the ten recalcitrant organizations were not expelled outright rather than suspended should not deceive anyone. The schism may or may not be permanent. It might—and may yet—be more complete, in the sense that it might have been half, rather one-fourth, of its membership that was excluded from active fellowship in the Federation. For the present—and for the indeterminate future—it is absolute.

The newspapers have too much played up the struggle as one of clashing personalities and personal ambitions—as a sort of labor "battle of the century" between John L. Lewis and William Green. It is much more than that. There has been



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much disputation, also, over the question whether, under the Federation's constitution, the power of suspension could be exercised by any other body than the Federation itself, in convention assembled—whether, in other words, the Council had not exceeded its authority in ordering the suspensions in the first instance. But more fundamental issues emerge from the significant fact that—despite all the strikes and rumors of strikes, despite all the talk of collective bargaining, of unions and their "rackets," of organized labor and its achievements—the United States is a non-union country: unorganized wage-earners are seven times as numerous as the organized. Including the suspended unions, the Federation has a membership of about 3,500,000 workers, about 11 per cent of the 32 million wage earners in the United States. The railroad brotherhoods and other important unions not now involved in the C. I. O. controversy and not affiliated with the Federation have an aggregate membership of about 750,000. There is therefore a total organized labor "army" with about 4,250,000 members, between 13 and 14 per cent of American labor. (No account is taken here of company unions which now are reported to exist in establishments employing 2,500,000 workers. They scarcely can be said to be a part of the "labor movement" in the accepted sense of that term. Their inclusion would raise the number of wage-earners organized, after some fashion, to 6,750,000 or 20 per cent of all wage earners.

In the light of the preponderant non-union character of the bulk of our wage-earning population and in the light of the further fact that, despite large gains in the past three years, the Federation's membership stands now at a figure more than half a million below that of 1920, it may be suggested that it is conceivable that deep-seated differences might arise within the movement in regard to such vital non-personal and non-legalistic issues as these two—shall the unorganized workers be organized? and, if so, *how* shall they be organized? Fundamentally, it *is* these two issues which are at the bottom of the present conflict. As posed, the question is not simply whether



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workers and unions in the United States should be organized craft-wise or industry-wise; it is no less important whether they are to organize at all.

The present conflict has brought to a focus antagonisms of many years' standing between advocates of horizontal, or craft, unionism and vertical, or industrial, unionism. If in an industrial community there are some establishments making automobiles and others making glass, the carpenters in both types of plants belonging to the carpenters union, the machinists to the machinists union and the stationary engineers in their several power plants to the union of stationary engineers, the prevailing type of organization (especially if, as is likely to be the case, the semi-skilled and unskilled production workers are not organized) is the horizontal or craft form. If in these same plants, however, all of the wage earners (including the unskilled and semi-skilled production workers or operatives, the carpenters and the stationary engineers) of the automobile plant are enrolled in an automobile workers union and all of the workers in the glass factories in a glass workers union, the organization type is the vertical, or industrial, form. This illustration sets forth what may be called the "pure" types. As might be expected, few existing unions conform to the pure type, whether craft or industrial. They are for the most part mixed, or hybrid, types, of which the most that can be said is that they are predominantly of the vertical, or the horizontal, types as the case may be. It is worthy of note that the company union must of necessity be classified as vertical. It significantly differs, however, from independent or "outside" unions (vertical and horizontal alike) in that it lacks all inter-company articulation although of course there may be inter-*plant* articulation in the case of the company unions of enterprises operating two or more plants, as in the Carnegie-Illinois Steel company or the General Motors Corporation.

The A. F. of L. is a somewhat loose organizational synthesis



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of about 75 per cent of all American wage-earners enrolled in independent (craft or industrial) unions. The remaining 25 per cent of the independently organized workers are members of non-affiliated (craft or industrial) unions whose aggregate membership runs to about 800,000, of whom some 300,000 are members of the four railroad brotherhoods. There are altogether some 50 non-affiliated unions of national scope. They are not necessarily rivals of affiliated unions and they are, by and large, similar to them in respect to structure, policy and strategy. The Federation is made up of (1) 111 autonomous national unions (called "internationals") which in turn include some 33,000 local unions, (2) 914 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the Federation, (3) 4 nationally organized departments, (4) 734 city central bodies, (5) 522 local department councils (such as the Allied Printing Trades Councils and city or state building trades councils), and (6) 49 state federations. Its whole membership is included in categories (1) and (2), the remaining categories being regional or industrial groupings of members of the internationals or the federal locals. The A. F. of L., then, is a *federation*, not an amalgamation, of its one hundred-odd *autonomous* "internationals." Each national union is a self-governing dominion which has surrendered to the Federation little or no power over it except the right to adjust any jurisdictional disputes which it may have with other unions. In a significant sense the Federation is the creature of its "internationals," especially its larger craft internationals. The ultimate authority in the Federation is the will of the membership as expressed in its annual Convention, voting strength being proportionate to membership (one vote for each 100 members) in the case of the "internationals" but on the basis of one vote each, regardless of size, for trade and federal labor unions, industrial departments, local department councils, state federations and city central bodies. Thus a trade or federal labor union of 600 members—and there are many such bodies no less large—has one vote at Federation Conventions whereas the international union known as the United



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Wall Paper Crafts of North America, with 600 members, has six votes. The Convention by a two-thirds vote may amend the constitution. Between Conventions the final authority rests in the Executive Council, a body made up of the President, the Secretary-Treasurer and the 15 Vice-Presidents of the Federation. Its duties and powers are set out with particularity in the Federation's constitution. Unless the power there granted, "to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with" that constitution or the constitutions of affiliated unions, be construed as permitting it, the power either to suspend or expel affiliated internationals is not listed among the powers granted. The drastic character of such power of suspension or expulsion—and the practical equivalence of suspension and expulsion, while the former is in effect, are indicated by the constitutional proviso that no affiliated body while under penalty, of either suspension or expulsion, "shall . . . be allowed representation or recognition . . ." in the Federation. As to expulsion the constitution is explicit: "The Executive Council," runs the language of Article IX, "shall only have power to revoke the charter of an . . . international union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention. . . ."

The craft type of organization is now and always has been the dominant factor in the Federation. About three-fourths of its affiliated internationals are either pure craft, or compound craft, unions. Slightly under one-fourth of them are industrial units, formed, as are the unions in the needle trades, by amalgamation of the separate crafts in their respective industries. Only the 2 or 3 remaining unions (the mine workers' and the brewery workers' organizations, for example) are "pure" industrial unions. Moreover the local, directly affiliated, trade unions are built craft-wise. The Federal labor unions (also directly affiliated) are either mixed groups of workers in different crafts or industries or, as increasingly in recent years, single-industry groups—local *industrial* unions. Although the affiliated "internationals" include some large and important industrial or quasi-industrial unions their voting strength in



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the conventions is probably not more than two-thirds that of the craft groups. The "craftsmen" are even more securely in control of the Executive Council. Indeed it seems no overstatement to say that they *are* the Council. In 1934, to be sure, that body was enlarged and Lewis of the mine workers and Dubinsky of the garment workers were added to its membership—to remain there until September 1936. President Green, before his election to the presidency of the Federation, was Secretary of the United Mine Workers. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, Frank Morrison, is a member of the Typographical Union, a craft organization whose president is now secretary of the C. I. O. The remaining members of the Council, vice-presidents of the Federation, are representatives —in nearly every instance the presidents—of craft internationals. There are two possible exceptions: Richert of the small and truncated United Garment Workers and Knight of the almost equally small Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

The recent emergence of open conflict between the craft and industrial union ideologies was no bolt from the blue. Evidences of friction over this issue are scattered through the labor history of the past forty years at least. The American Railway Union, the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in the early and middle-nineties, the I. W. W. from 1905 onward to its decline, the Western Federation of Miners (lineal ancestor of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, now affiliated with the C. I. O.)— all were labor organizations of the industrial type. Each of them waged vigorous campaigns against the Federation and against the "pure and simple" craft union. The Federation successfully weathered these attacks and today nothing is left of these early enemies except a corporal's guard of "Wobblies" and a Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization of some 15,000 members.

Meanwhile—and with accelerated tempo in more recent years—significant changes in the pattern of our economic life have been taking place—changes calculated profoundly to



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affect the character of our labor unions as well as other familiar features of our developing industrialism. The changes chiefly relevant here were technological. The emergence of large-scale, mass production; the substitution of power-driven machines for the craftsman's tools; the linkage of machines in series and the evolution of the continuous-process industry; the resulting displacement of craft-skill, and the wide eclipse of the artisan and the craftsman by the unskilled or semi-skilled factory operative. These factors of change, of course, affected some industries more than others. The building trades, for example, felt their impact relatively slightly.

The significance of these developments for the labor movement was not wholly lost upon its more thoughtful members. Many unionists, moreover, were deeply disturbed by the fact that, after decades of activity by the Federation and its constituent unions, the United States remained a non-union country—10 or 15 per cent organized—and by what some of them suspected to be a related fact, namely, that the most conspicuous areas of non-unionism were those occupied by the large-scale mass-production industries wherein the craftsman had been (or was speedily by way of being) notoriously supplanted by the automaton.

Many unionists—and, of course, many others not members of the labor movement, or even eligible to membership—recognized that in many if not most industries the very craft skill which was the basis of membership and of bargaining advantage was in process of extinction. Some of them, actuated of course by a variety of motives not open to exploration here, formed dual or opposition organizations such as those above-mentioned. Others endeavored to bring about readjustment within the Federation. After the turn of the present century almost every Convention of the A. F. of L. was marked by the introduction of industrial union resolutions. Such resolutions multiplied from year to year. Over 30 resolutions of this type were presented at the Atlantic City Convention in 1935.

The combined impact of the depression and the National In-



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dustrial Recovery Act thrust sharply forward the issues of labor strategy and structure which had been stewing for decades in the background of the trade union movement. A mandatory ingredient of every N. R. A. code that should be approved, but without effect except when incorporated in such codes, Section 7(a) of the NIRA, with its assertion of labor's right to engage in unmolested organizing and collective-bargaining activities, had an electrifying effect in stimulating such activities. Although it could be no more than a statutory prayer except as industry came under codes (and was so feebly enforced even then that it remained to the end little more than a legislative gesture), from the day of the statute's enactment—in truth almost from the day the bill was laid before Congress and published to the country—and before it had been given even technical effect in more than a handful of codes, a fever of organizing activity overspread the nation. Nor was the epidemic any respecter of unions: all kinds of unions were touched by it in some degree. Significantly, however, far the largest increases in membership took place in industrial or quasi-industrial unions, especially in coal mining and in the textile and apparel lines. Newly organized local groups sprang up all over the country, and these were largely industrial in structure. Such groups numerously emerged in the automobile, rubber, and iron and steel industries. Employers, moreover, sensing even more quickly than the labor leaders the probable inevitability of union expansion in the circumstances, promptly started, or shrewdly caused to be started, company-union back-fires in their plants. In fact, it was industrial, or vertical, unions of the company, or inside, variety which multiplied most rapidly of all during the year following the birth of the NIRA. Although it abated in 1934 and 1935 the organizing fever has outlasted the statute. But among the newly organized groups which thus had been precipitated out of the unorganized rank and file of the mass-production industries, it was not the company-initiated or company-dominated organizations which were to be the crucial factors in the developments which have produced the present



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split. (It is not implied that the company-union phenomenon is not one of very great public import. That it is of great significance certainly little doubt is entertained in labor circles. But the company union, in so far as independently organized workers are concerned, is not a divisive influence: craft and industrial unionists alike consider it a baleful influence—the former in part, perhaps, *because* it is industrial in form, the latter despite the fact that it is not craft in form.) The fat is in the fire as a result of very concrete difficulties that have arisen in connection with the self-organized industrial groups in the mass-production industries.

As these groups emerged they tended as a rule to include *all* types of workers in the particular industry, skilled craftsmen as well as semi-skilled operatives. Moreover, the new organizations quite generally tended to join the A. F. of L. as federal labor unions. When several such unions had come into existence in the same industry they drew together and perhaps applied to the Federation for a national-union charter. At this stage, if not before, the existing craft unions in the Federation appealed to it to act upon its alleged obligation to protect their claims to all the skilled craftsmen in the new group. In this way the new organizations found themselves subject to "raids" upon their memberships by the established craft internationals. The number of local trade and federal labor unions in the Federation increased between 1932 and 1934 from 397 to 1,788. But during 1935 and 1936 their number dwindled alarmingly. So many were disbanded or suspended that the number of these local bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. had dropped to 1,354 in 1935 and to 914 in 1936.

At the San Francisco Convention of the Federation in 1934 John L. Lewis of the mine workers managed to put through a resolution enlarging the Executive Council. As a result he and David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, became Vice-Presidents of the Federation and took seats on the Council, giving direct representation upon it



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for the first time to two powerful industrial unions. At the same Convention a resolution was adopted directing the Council to issue national charters to organizations in the mass production industries and to inaugurate an organization campaign in the iron and steel industry. The resolution was qualified, significantly, by a reservation which provided that the Federation would "fully protect the jurisdiction rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines" and assure to them all the "workers engaged upon work over which these craft organizations exercise jurisdiction." This solicitude of the Council for the protection of the jurisdictional claims of the craft internationals was, of course, the solicitude of those internationals speaking through the Council. In the following months little was done to give effect to the central purpose of the resolution. Efforts in this direction appear to have been largely hamstrung because of the Council's desire to effectuate the purposes of the proviso in behalf of vested craft interests. National charters were granted to workers in the automobile and rubber manufacturing industries. For one reason or another almost nothing was done in the cement, aluminum or radio manufacturing industries and nothing was done in the iron and steel industry because of internal friction in the old and insignificant Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

At the 1935 Convention the industrial-union forces endeavored to put through a resolution directing the Executive Council to grant *unrestricted* charters to organizations in the mass-production industries. Their resolution to this effect was defeated, by a vote of 18,025 to 10,933. The minority report pointed out that it was not the purpose of the industrial-union group "to permit the taking away from national . . . craft unions any part of their present membership, or potential membership, in establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen coming under a proper definition of jurisdiction of such national . . . unions," but that "jurisdictional claims over small groups of workers in . . . the mass-production industries prevent organization by breeding a fear that when once



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organized the workers in these plants will be separated, unity of action and their economic power destroyed by requiring various groups to transfer to national . . . unions organized upon craft lines." There is good reason to believe that the resolutions at the 1935 Convention in favor of granting *unrestricted* charters to groups of workers in the mass-production industries would have carried if the trade and federal locals had had voting strength proportionate to their membership. This seems the more plausible if it is true, as reported, that 90 per cent of the delegates from the city centrals and state federations (also assigned but one vote apiece) favored the resolutions.

On November 10, 1935, just three weeks after the adjournment of the 1935 Convention the Committee on Industrial Organization was formed. It was promptly assailed by the Federation as a dual movement and, therefore, a rebellion. President Green insisted that it reflected a willful flouting of the will of the majority as expressed by lawful vote of the Convention. The C. I. O. pointed out that its purpose was to organize in the A. F. of L. the workers in the mass-production industries, that repeated efforts to get effective organizing campaigns started in unorganized areas had come to naught and that therefore there appeared to be no alternative to the action they had taken. The secretary of the C. I. O. wrote to Green that he "considered the organization of the unorganized millions of wage workers as being so essential that it overshadows almost every other consideration." As to the charge of "dual unionism" the C. I. O. insisted that its purpose was to "remove the roots of dualism by making it possible for . . . mass-production workers now outside the A. F. of L. to enter on the only basis they will accept—industrial unions."

As has been noted, the San Francisco Convention of the Federation in 1934 had adopted a resolution instructing the Executive Council "at the earliest possible date" to "inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry." When at the 1935 Convention it was reported that nothing had been done in this matter the mandate



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was repeated. Early in 1936 the Council formulated a plan of campaign in which was incorporated the condition that "the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations . . . [i.e., the craft internationals] be recognized." At about the same time the C. I. O. invited the A. F. of L. to contribute $1,000,000 to a fund to which it would donate $500,000 to finance an organizing campaign in the steel industry, upon condition that organization be "along industrial lines," because "organization breaks up and disappears when the workers are threatened with division into a multitude of craft unions." The invitation was declined. In May 1936 the Executive Council laid its plan before the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and again stipulated that in the execution of the campaign "due regard and proper respect for the jurisdictional rights of all national and international unions . . . be observed." The C. I. O. also submitted its plan of campaign to the Amalgamated. The latter organization accepted the C. I. O. offer and the Amalgamated joined the list of C. I. O. unions. It was followed later in 1936 by the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers, The American Newspaper Guild, the United Electrical and Radio Workers and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. By January 1937 fifteen labor organizations had affiliated with the C. I. O.

Soon after the acceptance of the C. I. O. plan by the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers the Executive Council issued its first ultimatum to the C. I. O., threatening suspension of all of the A. F. of L. unions affiliated with it if it failed to wind up its affairs and go out of business. The ultimatum having been ignored the suspension followed. Since suspension as already noted carries with it exclusion from participation and from voting in the annual Convention the confirmation by the Convention of the Council's action was almost a foregone conclusion, and its accomplishment by an overwhelming vote of 21,679 to 2,043 was made possible, of course, by the fact that the suspended unions had no vote. By this action at Tampa the suspension was



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indefinitely continued—and the status of the ten unions was in practical effect, and for the indeterminate duration of the suspension, made that of unions expelled.

In view of the similarity, if not identity, in the practical consequences of expulsion and suspension and the explicit constitutional prohibition to the Council of exercise of any power of expulsion without prior submission of the matter to the Convention, there would appear to the lay mind to be grave doubt as to whether the Council, in making the suspensions as it did, was not exceeding its authority under the Federation's constitution. The C. I. O. contends that the Council should have withheld its hand and submitted the issue to a Convention in which the ten internationals would have had a vote upon the issue. Even had this been done the result might well have been the same in a Convention constitutionally committed to a system of voting clearly calculated to keep the balance of power in the hands of the craft internationals. But even if the issue had been held for the Convention and the C. I. O. unions had been able by their votes to block the two-thirds majority necessary to suspend them, the situation would hardly have been any less unhappy than it now is.

For the insistent, inescapable issue, lying behind all questions of constitutionality, would have remained: the crucial question of organizing policy and strategy. The A. F. of L.—a federative tail wagged by a craft-union dog—is (seemingly) unalterably committed to the protection of the traditional jurisdictional claims of the craft unions, even where those claims reach out into the great unorganized basic industries wherein the craftsmen are merely minor and marginal factors. The C. I. O. unions appear to be no less unalterably committed to the disallowance of craft-union claims in these industries. The march of time and technological evolution conspires to uphold their hands. The grip of inertia and the vested interest of the craft internationals and their leaders seem to bind the Federation to a continuance of the present time-hallowed pattern of struc-



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ture and strategy. The conflict, therefore, probably was inevitable.

If a much more general unionization of industrial workers in this country be granted as desirable in the public interest, it seems clear that organization must be by industries, not by crafts. In this writer's judgment the United States will remain dominantly non-union so long as dominance of the labor movement by the craft unions precludes completely industrial organization of the basic industries. If America is to be organized it will have to be done industry-wise. The position and prospects of the company unions are significant in this connection. They are vertical, i.e. industrial, unions. They are now giving evidence here and there of a desire for inter-company connections and for genuine collective bargaining, possible only after their single-company isolation shall have broken down. To the extent that this tendency spreads these company unions will become independent industrial unions, possibly affiliating with the C. I. O. In the iron and steel industry it is reported that, in the course of the C. I. O. campaign to organize steel workers in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, charters had been issued before the close of 1936 to not less than ten lodges which previously had been company unions.

The growth of the industrial-union movement seems likely to be accompanied by important changes in union policy, some of which may be less than salutary, even for union members. The National Labor Relations Board by its power to determine the bargaining unit may be the entering wedge of a movement which will eventually, by the exercise of such powers, make trade-unions the manipulated creatures of the government. If the United States is to be made a union country it is important, then, to decide not only whether the basic industries are to be organized industrially or by craft, but also whether the unions should be free or governmentally dominated. If the preservation of free unions is considered vital it would seem important not to do more for the unions, governmentally, than to protect them in their organizing and bargaining activities. Thus it



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seems highly questionable whether, if unions are to remain free, the process of collective bargaining should be removed (as it is removed by the National Labor Relations Acts) from the status of a régime to be established on its (very great) merits by unions on their own responsibility in the competition of the market, to the status of a process in which employers are by law compelled to engage.

The C. I. O. evidently will operate as a highly centralized agency with large powers over its constituent units and with much to say about policy and strategy in particular organizing campaigns. Evidence of this characteristic has been brought vividly to public notice in the General Motors strike. This pattern of control is, of course, in sharp contrast to that prevailing in the loosely Federated A. F. of L. The organizing strategy of the C. I. O. has obvious advantages in the conduct of recruiting campaigns in the unorganized, mass-production industries. A serious disadvantage is that its marked centralization of control may subject labor, under it, even more disastrously than is the case with the A. F. of L., to the danger that the cause may be sacrificed to the personal aggrandizement of leaders. As noted at the outset, the C. I. O. has been too much equated—in the newspapers, at least—with the political ambitions of John L. Lewis. Yet the danger of subordinating the cause to the man is obvious. It can be forestalled only by the constant alertness of the rank and file of the unions affiliated in the new movement, and by the institution and use of those democratic control devices with which the C. I. O. unions are acquainted and of which they have sometimes—unhappily not always—taken advantage in their efforts to curb officials prone to subordinate the interests of the group to their personal advancement.



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# The "Unheard of Adventure"

## Harriet Monroe and *Poetry*

HORACE GREGORY

IN THE early Autumn of 1912 Harriet Monroe of Chicago published the first issue of *Poetry, A Magazine of Verse.* Unlike "the little magazines that died to make verse free," *Poetry* was to survive beyond the occasion of the first hour that welcomed it and to extend its influence into a third decade. Had the magazine been founded by any one less able, less experienced, less devoted to a single purpose it might well have gone the way of many another effort to support and encourage the art of poetry. But Miss Monroe's abilities were by no means ordinary and in 1912 she was prepared to meet any emergency except relinquishing the prospect of her "unheard of adventure."

Miss Monroe had long awaited the occasion that she was later to call "the psychological moment" for founding a magazine of verse; she had witnessed the neglect of poetry in America, the indifference of magazine editors and the general disrespect in which poetry was held by the reading public. In her early youth she had known Edmund Clarence Stedman and appreciated his large task in compiling *An American Anthology*—but his work had been completed in 1900 and poets still lacked the means to gain public respect, to publish verse at regular intervals, to reach the audience, however large or small, that would be willing to hear what they had to say. She was to write:

> The ordinary magazines, dependent on popular support, do not suffice for the poet; he has a right to demand his own place of exhibition, with its own adequate system of rewards.

She had already lived through a period when the writing and knowledge of poetry seemed at its lowest ebb. The recognition of E. A. Robinson by Theodore Roosevelt in 1902 seemed



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nothing less than the work of capricious Providence; and even this reward scarcely compensated for the earlier neglect of a gifted and young poet. Her own verse had received transient notice at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892, but the years that followed the writing of her "Columbian Ode" were filled with disillusionment. She had turned to journalism but her actual interests lay elsewhere, and as if to justify her hopes for the future, in 1911 there were rumors in the air of a new poetry movement. Ezra Pound, who had left America for London, had published five small books of verse and gathered around him a group of young poets, known as "Des Imagists." In this country John Masefield's "The Everlasting Mercy" met with sudden popularity and while a poetry annual, *The Lyric Year*, was in preparation in New York, Edward Marsh with the assistance of Harold Munro and his Poetry Bookshop was publishing the first issue of *Georgian Poetry*. The hour seemed more propitious than in any single year since the turn of the century.

Miss Monroe with the assistance of her friends in Chicago among whom were Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor and Henry B. Fuller sent the following manifesto to poets with the invitation to contribute to her magazine, a magazine which offered them:

> *First*, a chance to be heard in their own place. . . . *Second*, we hope to print poems of greater length, and of more intimate and serious character than the other magazines can afford to use. . . . *Third*, besides certain prizes promised or hoped for, we shall pay contributors.

Ezra Pound was appointed London representative and groups of poems by William Butler Yeats and Tagore were promised for early publication. The first volume of the magazine showed clearly Miss Monroe's eclectic taste; for Aldington, H. D., George Stirling, John Reed, Ficke, Bynner, as well as Pound, Yeats and Tagore and Vachel Lindsay were included in it—and the appearance of Lindsay was to mark the first of a long line of Miss Monroe's discoveries.

It was also obvious that Miss Monroe possessed other quali-



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ties than those of enthusiasm and the energy to set forth upon an "unheard of adventure." Her rule of paying generously for contributions avoided the usual erratic and disproportionate rewards for writing verse that attended the policy of encouraging poetry wholly by prize awards. This distinction in policy may have seemed trivial, or materialistic, or both but it was a practical step toward gaining respect for every poem accepted by *Poetry's* editors—and it illustrated the pragmatic sanity of Miss Monroe's judgment. From the very first issue onward this financial policy tended to make the magazine seem tangible and permanent—and at once the atmosphere was cleared of the discomfort which so often taints the best offices of mere philanthropy. Those who knew Miss Monroe's wry, caustic smile and the sharp, yet not unkindly, glance from steel-blue eyes found the same touch of wisdom in her character. Hers was the kind of generosity that included interested appraisal of its object: if she believed a poem worth publishing it deserved the right to earn its own way and to be well paid for.

Meanwhile she had entered the very spirit of the new poetry, written in her time. She was among the first to make clear the meaning of the change that had taken place in poetic diction between 1880 and 1910. In 1917 she wrote: "These . . . men (Synge and Yeats) had little patience with the 'over-apparelled' art of Tennyson and his imitators. They found it stiffened by rhetoric, by a too conscious morality leading to pulpit eloquence, and by second-hand bookish inspirations."

Miss Monroe was to share this conviction whole-heartedly and her interpretation of it was to select worthy contributors for her magazine, publishing in the first ten volumes of *Poetry* the unknown names of William Carlos Williams, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, T. S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, Wallace Stevens, James Joyce and Sherwood Anderson. As Ezra Pound remarked in his tribute to Miss Monroe (*Poetry*, December 1936): "The new generation of the 1930's cannot measure offhand the local situation of 1910." But for the very few exceptions the "local situation" of 1910 was very dark, and however



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fortunate the "psychological moment" may have been, Miss Monroe was the only editor of a magazine in English to discern its possibilities. Like W. E. Henley's *Scots Observer* Miss Monroe's *Poetry* became the center of a literary movement whose growth extended far beyond its origins—and this was accomplished by a monthly periodical whose circulation seldom rose above three thousand.

And here another word should be said about Miss Monroe's eclecticism. Very nearly everything that has been written in complaint of *Poetry's* policy during the past quarter century has been in disapproval of her avowedly catholic tastes. There is scarcely a volume of *Poetry* that does not display its character full length, that does not reveal a mixture of good verse with bad, of verse that tells us all too plainly its origin in widely divergent schools, exhibiting its feebleness or strength, its brilliance or dulled repetition, its banality or richness. Read swiftly and without discrimination, it would seem that the secret of *Poetry's* editorial selection of verse was to have no policy at all. But as one examines each volume in its files one sees a definite relationship of the verse to the time in which it was written, either in the career of a given poet or in the movement represented. The poem, whatever its flaws or merits, would contain that quality that Miss Monroe mildly (and sometimes sadly) insisted was "interesting." Often as not that very poem offended some few or all of Miss Monroe's staunchest prejudices—but if it showed the slightest promise of possible interest or timeliness it received further consideration and was well on its way toward publication.

In recent years this policy took the form of publishing entire issues of *Poetry* edited for the sake of representing regional groups or conflicting schools of verse, and among these were included an "Objectivist Number," a "Southern Number," a "Social Poets' Number," an "English Number"—and in defense of them or in personal disapproval of their choices Miss Monroe would skillfully justify their existence, insisting always that the world had changed and that the sum of all its



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changes did not lead to ruin; in the years that she had known it "poets have sung new and strange tunes; and nothing has remained unchanged but birth and life and death, day and the seasons. . . ."

Eclecticism was the very life of her magazine and within it one may find the evidence of Miss Monroe's cultural heritage. It is impossible to think of her without urban Chicago in the near distance, without a glimpse of the large Middlewestern city seen through the very window of the rooms in which she lived. She was to share with other great Middlewesterners of her generation, men and women such as Jane Addams, Frank Lloyd Wright and the elder Senator Robert M. La Follette the sensation of living at the geographical and economic center of America. During the years in which she had come to maturity the agricultural and urban growths of the Middlewest were not singular and separate but interwoven and reciprocal. The spectacle of the Columbian Exposition and its memory had spread its civilizing influence throughout the entire region and the society in which Miss Monroe moved was mobile and elastic, carrying within it the color and sense of movement that had sustained the courage of the pioneer. She was to translate the memory of her heritage into a literary medium, and like others of her generation she had learned to welcome change and not to fear it.

Those who fail to perceive meaning in Miss Monroe's heritage are likely to misread and distort the entire meaning of the culture she so ably represented. Curiously enough the most sensational and transparent attack upon it appeared in less than six months after her death at Arequipa, Peru, September 1936.

During the 'teens and 'twenties the Middle West held up its head, proud to be alive, proud of its grass-root songs, proud of its belated admittance into the cameraderie of writers, artists, thinkers. It would have been cruel to announce then that its cultural stirrings might only be crude, galvanic twitchings; that its poets and tale-tellers were writing in sand; that all its men were Babbitts; that most of its critics were noddies. . . .[1]

[1] John Abbot Clark, *Southern Review*, Winter 1937, "The Middle West—There It Lies."



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Obviously the author of this essay approached his subject with remarkable temerity, for to ignore the existence of *Poetry* and its hardy longevity must have required great concentration and no end of circuitous rejection of many facts available in any college library. Since his entire argument for a new form of regional philosophy is based upon a statement made by William Butler Yeats in his early youth, written at a time when the present Mr. Yeats confesses that his "isolation from ordinary men and women was increased by asceticism destructive of mind and body, combined with an adoration of physical beauty that made it meaningless," Mr. Clark's daring takes on the appearance of willful recklessness in the face of well known and deeply rooted facts. Perhaps Miss Monroe, had she lived, would have enjoyed the prospect of brief controversy with Mr. Clark, but I suspect that by far the best correction to his "galvanic" and unrecognizable portrait of Middlewestern culture will be Miss Monroe's posthumous *Autobiography* which she had completed within a few days of her death.

If in the last five years her magazine seemed less adventurous than in the days when everyone shared the enthusiasm of a "poetic renaissance," it had gained the prestige of quiet authority which was becoming to the reputation it had earned in its first two decades; and its present editor, Morton Dauwen Zabel, who had taken charge of its critical section, extended Miss Monroe's policy to include the publication of some of the finest critical prose ever written in America. Perhaps the most impressive of the many tributes written on the occasion of Miss Monroe's death came from Ezra Pound who confessed that "no one more acrimoniously differed with her in point of view than I did" and who at last was to say:

> During the twenty-four years of her editorship perhaps three periodicals made a brilliant record, perhaps five periodicals, but they were all under the sod in the autumn of 1936, and no other publication has existed in America where any writer of poetry could more honorably place his writings. This was true in 1911. It is true as I write this.



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# Supreme—Court or People?

CHARLES E. CLARK

PRESSURE for constitutional amendment has been more or less continuous since the early days when several states exacted the first ten or "Bill of Rights" Amendments as the price of their approval of the new Constitution. Lately, however, the agitation for constitutional change has become more pronounced and it seems likely to increase rather than diminish. The reasons are not hard to discover. The fact is that two opposing governmental trends are coming more and more into collision and any solution short of some definite constitutional change seems unlikely, if indeed it is not impossible.

The first of these trends is the need, felt differently by different persons but sensed to some extent by all, for greater activity upon the part of the central government. Some may deplore the trend, some may approve; but in any event it is inevitable in a crowded machine civilization. It is not a feature of one political administration though recent events have given it dramatic force. Actually approval of certain of its aspects is well-nigh universal; it is only as to some others, usually connected with public control of business, that acrid controversy develops. The function of government to care for the poor and needy (to which may now be added the aged and the unemployed) has long been admitted, at least as to the states; the power of the national government, so strongly questioned by Cleveland, has become thoroughly established.[1] That there is a positive duty to act to avert national calamity in ways which would have astounded an earlier generation now passes as com-

[1] In 1887 President Cleveland vetoed a statute appropriating $10,000 for the distribution of seeds to the drought-stricken counties of Texas, saying:

"I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution and I do not believe that the power and duty of the General Government ought to be extended to the relief of individual suffering which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit." Messages and Papers of the Presidents, VIII, 557.



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monplace. We are familiar with the activities of government in time of war, pestilence, and flood. Four years ago a business and financial crisis produced a like need and a like acceptance of the results. Is it not interesting as well as instructive that the closing of all the banks in 1933, for which positive legal and judicial support is meager, has never been tested in any major litigation? That act will apparently go down in history as a precedent hallowed by universal acceptance rather than by explicit law.

Such is the trend in favor of governmental activity, and every indication is that as our civilization becomes more complex it will increase rather than decrease. Against this is the constant tendency of a written constitution toward ever greater restriction. Such a constitution must compensate by the benefits it should afford of certainty and precision for an inflexibility which grows rather than lessens with time. That is the natural consequence of the more dynamic character of a declaration of constitutional invalidity. Every negation of legislative action unfortunately tends to become a definite barrier to future action, whereas an affirmation is but a refusal of the court to act in a particular case. Hence the appearance of constantly more drastic exercise of the power of review is borne out by the facts not only of the increasing number of cases where invalidity is found, but from the increment to the mass of announced prohibitions. For example, the AAA decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (declaring the Agricultural Adjustment Act invalid) established new law which caught the law professors quite by surprise since they had practically to a man prophesied a contrary result and are still unreconciled to the one which actually obtained. But the restrictions it discovered in the constitutional provisions are far-reaching, notwithstanding their unexpectedness.

Such being the opposing trends one may perhaps venture a prophecy, although here prophecy has been unusually dangerous. It does seem probable, notwithstanding the inertia toward the support of constitutional change and the resistance of those



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having vested interests in the preservation of the status quo, that the forces seeking to burst the bounds now assigned to the constitutional fiats are too strong to be stopped and that change in the direction of increased power in government will result. The experience of other countries shows that weakness in government eventually results in the seizure of power by some strong man while the multitude applauds. The public demands or at least permits an overcorrection of such weakness. The granting of moderate accessions of governmental authority as the need therefor becomes generally felt seems in truth a guaranty against eventual dictatorship. Good policy and statesmanship alike suggest, therefore, the desirability of careful and impartial assessment of the various proposals for constitutional reform.

Unfortunately there is a plethora of suggestions for change, as well may be expected in view of the importance of the questions involved. Moreover the doctrine of judicial review has developed by a gradual process and therefore advocates of change must upset what are now settled and familiar habits. In one sense this is an unfair burden, explaining much of the resentment of labor and welfare groups; for whenever, as in the AAA case, new and unprecedented constitutional doctrine is announced, even though it be by a bare majority of the Supreme Court, it immediately becomes supported by the constitutional halo which the worshippers throw not merely about the document itself but about its interpretative gloss, and no change is possible short of constitutional amendment, except the bare chance that the Court may reverse itself. The natural process referred to above seems to result in the adding of new restraints by a simple declaration, but the removal thereof comes only by the slow process of amendment.

Nevertheless the issue must be faced. The various views may be summarized as follows. First, no constitutional change should be made. This has rather diverse supporters from those on the one hand who are benefited by the present lack of power or who honestly believe that some quality of individual action



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which they term "liberty" is still possible, and on the other hand those who think that Congress has sufficient power to work great changes, down to those who, though convinced that the Court has erred, argue that the only progress is a confession of such error by the Court. Of those advocating amendment there are those who assert that in a reallocation of the balance of power between the legislative and judicial departments, with the added checks and balances in favor of the legislature, lies the proper solution; while others would merely redefine the existing grants of power in terms they believe more justified in history and in present policy alike. And finally there are proposals for a rather extensive refabrication of the entire governmental structure, probably eventually involving changes more far-reaching than that of judicial review alone. Even within these several categories the detail of change can be extensive and variegated. Let us examine somewhat the various proposals.

Of those who advocate no constitutional change, the attitude of those who, either for selfish or philosophical reasons, earnestly desire a continuance of the present system can be understood. But less understandable are the views of those learned scholars who are perhaps the severest critics of the actual decisions but who yet assert that no action is possible other than to urge the Court itself to confess error and promise reform. Psychologically this leaves the supporters of welfare legislation in a weak position where the whole matter seems a private battle, to be engaged in only by academicians, with scoring allowed only for errors of logic. Not such are the uses of history; nor thus lightly can the slow growth of years of thought and action be pushed to one side. The doctrine of judicial review as we now know it is the product of more than a century's activity of vigorous minds and has been at least as widely acclaimed as criticized. Upon it has been built a whole governmental structure involving supervision of matters as diverse as public utility rate regulation and convictions under state laws curbing free speech. All the Justices of the Supreme Court, including those popularly denominated as "liberal," unite in not denying the



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*power* of review, even in cases such as those involving "due process of law," where its extension is a matter of comparatively recent history. The divergence of view is not as to the power but only whether it should be exercised in particular instances. Liberal justices, for example, are not going to take the responsibility (or justify the condemnation which other liberals would promptly visit upon them) of refusing review of harsh state laws restricting freedom of speech. This illustrates, too, the fallacy of "packing" the Court or relying upon the appointment of "forward-looking" judges to reverse this history. There is no question but that appointments to the bench should be made with the greatest care and that the appointing power—particularly when supported by the force of public opinion as shown in the process of amendment or otherwise—is a prime force in looking to constitutional change. But reliance upon the power of appointment alone is insufficient. It is historical fact that a President cannot prophesy accurately as to the trend of view which his judicial appointees may take. Moreover, realistically considered, it must be admitted that judges possessing all the attributes demanded are rare and that the list of prospective candidates of this type who are also politically within the realm of possibilities is indeed limited. Considering the class from which appointments are made, and taking a long-range view, it is more likely that they will continue as in the past to be able men, whose force cannot be discounted and whose views will be prevailingly conservative. Even if a complete reversal should by some miracle be accomplished it should be recalled that this will probably be but temporary, for the power of control will at most be dormant, not relinquished.

The program of demanding confession of error and a change of heart by the judges seems therefore a stultifying one, if that is all that can be attempted. The claimed error has already been vigorously suggested in argument and the scholarly books to this effect are in the Court's library. Reason would suggest that, unless there is some showing of a public demand for change



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extending beyond the cloister, there is little reason for reversal, and that under our form of governmental organization the only way of proving such demand is through the process of amendment. That process, too, is educational of every one—judges, legislators, voters in general. In that process the historical review, even the claim of error as to the effect given the plans of the constitutional fathers, has its proper place. It shows that another conception of government could well have been enforced originally and can be resorted to now if the people so desire.

Naturally the present powers of Congress should be scrutinized to see if there exist any now unused which would permit the desired actions. Certain possibilities will doubtless be explored further, such as federal incorporation, and consequent control, of corporations. But the extent of power here is vague and undefined and the remedy seems at best limited. Proposals directly controlling the manner of exercise of the judicial function, such as those requiring a majority vote to overthrow a statute, will surely be declared invalid, and are undesirable in any event since they tend eventually to stifle minority views and the wisdom which a forthright expression of opinions always brings. An increase in the number of Justices of the Supreme Court is possible but the effectiveness of the remedy at best depends upon the vicissitudes of appointment and is only temporary. There would necessarily result also some undermining of the judicial prestige and of belief in its impartiality—for after all its prime function, even when constitutional issues are presented, is to decide cases fairly between the persons in litigation before it. Finally, suggestions of change of jurisdiction of the federal courts suggest some remedies worse than any present evil. Congress can define the jurisdiction of the federal courts; it cannot restrict the exercise of the judicial function when jurisdiction is granted. Since all litigation is between parties every court in the land, from a justice of the peace up, must make its judgment between the litigants on the basis that an unconstitutional statute is no law at all. Congress cannot take juris-



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diction away from the state courts; with the federal courts it may limit perhaps the power of appeal but it still cannot wholly prevent the issue from arising for consideration. At most, therefore, *final* settlement by the highest court is either postponed or prevented, while constitutional chaos is promoted.

The approach by way of amendment seems, therefore, the only one really complete or in line with our existing theories of government. Here, too, several courses are open. One suggestion which seems to have acquired considerable support is that the Congress by two-thirds or three-quarters vote should have the right to repass an act declared invalid by the Court. This is attractive perhaps because it is simple and easily understood and also because it gives Congress a chance in effect to rebuke the Court. Thus it is well designed to appeal to the sensibilities of Congress. It is believed, however, that this, in spite of its illusive simplicity, is one of the most undesirable of the various amendments suggested, for what it does is to add yet another check and balance to an already overcomplicated governmental structure. Students of political science have come to recognize that democracy is made effective in proportion as responsibility to the electorate is made direct. A proper criticism of our form of government is that, due to an excess of checks and balances, responsibility is concealed and action paralyzed. By this proposal, instead of freeing our officials to act in such a way that responsibility for what they do is clear, we are simply piling up complications upon an already complicated structure. Analogy is claimed to the passage of an act over the President's veto but the two situations are not comparable. In practice our President has come to be the legislative leader who is expected to originate proposals for legislation. The executive veto strengthens and supports that power of leadership. By itself it might be a horrible thing, since history shows that very few acts—those of only a special kind, usually involving payment of money from the Treasury—are passed over it. To make the judicial veto similarly a legislative act will probably have a like paralyzing effect upon Congress (as indeed it does in its present



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form) because the courts have only the function of negation and cannot improve or correct or originate substitute proposals. The delay and consequent uncertainty to all would be greatly increased, for presumably Congress would try to meet the Court's objections by amendment, thus starting anew the drama of conflict between the legislative and judicial bodies. In reality this device is a hobble on both Congress and Court rather than a grant of power to the Government. The contest may provide a spectacle for the people to watch but when it is all over there will be no one to blame for ineffective action.

Another popular suggestion is that the Supreme Court should be consulted in advance of legislation—a practice actually followed in some states where the courts by the state constitutions are authorized to give "advisory opinions." It is well settled that this is not a judicial function and will not be performed by the courts except by constitutional command. It, too, confuses the legislative process and has a paralyzing effect upon the legislature. It loads the dice against new and original legislation. In Massachusetts, for example, anti-injunction legislation—such as the federal Norris-La Guardia Act already sustained by the lower federal courts—has been branded as unconstitutional and in New Hampshire an original attempt to solve the problem of compensation for the victims of motor vehicle accidents by a system akin to that so effectual in the like case of the injured workman has been similarly proscribed. The decision has to be reached without the benefit of effective argument in support of the proposed legislation, such as that now usually and effectively given by the attorneys for the government when an actual case, involving the adjudication of rights really in dispute, is before the Court. Such a plan in practice proves to be an excuse for the legislature to do nothing. It is not authority and a duty to act.

The preferable type of amendment seems one which confers legislative power simply and in a straightforward way. This can be done either by explicit grant of stated powers or by a redefining of the historic grants, as minority views have



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steadily claimed they should have been defined. The first course is attended with some dangers. If certain things are specified—if, for example, power to regulate child labor is granted—then more doubt than ever is cast upon all other and unmentioned powers. If, however, the wording of an amendment is made broad and vague it may prove as meaningless as some of the generalities already in the Constitution; or if, contrary to past habits in construing new *grants* of power, it is construed broadly, then we may not be able even to guess its extents. Perhaps the whole federal system is gone and all power in the states destroyed. Without great care the cherished guaranties of personal liberties—freedom of speech and of religion, etc. —will also be eliminated. It is reported that representatives of labor have feared such proposed changes, as well they may. In any event there is inevitably a long period of uncertainty until the meaning of the amendment has been judicially declared and delimited. It seems preferable to follow the course of redefining constitutional terms along lines definitely pointed out in our history.

Such a course seems a comparatively simple and yet skillful and adequate way of surmounting the difficulties presented by the other proposals. It happens that the greatest controversy has concerned two constitutional grants and two problems; one is the relation between the states and the national government centering about the definition of the congressional power over interstate commerce; and the other concerns the relation of government, either national or state, and the individual, centering about the definition of what constitutes a taking of property without due process of law.[2] As to the former, the early decisions of the Court under John Marshall defined the term broadly and in terms of national supremacy. Later there developed the theory which Professor E. S. Corwin has aptly

[2] Quite recently acts have been found improper as a delegation of *legislative* power to executive or administrative officials. The extent of this prohibition has not yet been made clear. Since, however, it merely calls for definition by the legislature of a standard (apparently broad and flexible) to which the delegated acts must conform, this, it is believed, will not prove a permanent barrier to legislation.



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termed "dual federalism"—which he criticizes as contravening the explicit declaration in the Federal Constitution that it shall be "the supreme law of the land"—whereby conflicting powers between states and nation are allotted to each by a process which often seems to leave a no man's land where effective power resides in neither. So, in the case of regulation of child labor, the individual states may have the legal but lack the economic power; whereas the national government, which alone can make regulation effective, lacks the legal authority to do so. A redefinition of interstate commerce adapting the Marshall concept to the needs and complexities of modern trade and industry, which now in the majority of businesses transcends mere state lines, would be a realistic approach to the problem. As to due process of law, that historic phrase has come down to us from English law, which goes back at least to Magna Carta. By the Fifth Amendment due process was made a restriction on federal action; by the Fourteenth, passed as an aftermath of the Civil War, it was also applied to the states. Now it is a matter of historic fact that its construction in English law and in our early federal law was as a guaranty of a fair trial and hearing according to Anglo-Saxon standards. It applied to judicial *procedure* and was not a restriction on the *substance* of legislation. In the latter part of the 19th century there came a complete reversal in judicial interpretation of this phrase, and an expanded meaning which only became clear in the days of Theodore Roosevelt, leading to his historic dispute with the judiciary. Its extent is even yet not precisely clear, for recently we have learned that the New York milk law requiring a minimum charge for a bottle of milk is due process, whereas the Railroad Retirement Act, providing a pension system for retired railroad employees, is not. The limitation of due process to its historic meaning would seem, therefore, not a complicated process. It would then be necessary to see that the guaranties of personal liberty are not disturbed. Now the First Amendment provides these guaranties so far as federal action is concerned; and due process under the Four-



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teenth similarly restrains the states. If the latter phrase is to be restricted, full protection can be accorded by extending the First Amendment to the states also.

It is thought, therefore, that a proper amendment is along the line of a redefinition of interstate commerce to include not only commodities transported across state lines but those which are manufactured or mined in contemplation of such transportation or are distributed after such transportation or are in direct competition therewith; that due process should be limited to matters of fair trial and procedure according to the English point of view; and that the free-speech amendment should be made applicable to state action. This is a simple concrete proposal, not changing historic grants of power and capable of prediction as to its results. It seems preferable to more indefinite or confusing proposals.[3]

Some persons advocate more extensive constitutional change eliminating judicial review entirely. It is doubtful, however, whether, under our federal system of state and national government, and of public officials elected for definite terms and not over-responsive to democratic control, further change of our governmental system is desirable until we are prepared to face the real problem of making democratic government effective. This will mean making not merely the courts more responsive to popular will but also, and perhaps especially, the legislature and the executive likewise responsive. Here is a worth while study, deserving of consideration for the formulation of a long-range proposal of governmental reform. In these days of rapid communication by radio, telegraph, and telephone it would be quite possible to make a reality of an executive and legislature responsive to the electorate. The English parliamentary system affords at least a possible example, and it should be carefully considered. Our long campaigns now are a bore, if not a disgrace in their cost, waste, expense, and indecisiveness. If our inventive genius is turned to the

[3] I have elsewhere suggested a possible wording for such an amendment. See p. 22 of "Clarifying the Constitution by Amendment," published by the National Consumers' League, 1936.



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problem, means may be developed whereby executive and legislative responsibility to the electorate could be expressed by mechanical voting by telephonic transmission after an intelligent campaign over the radio of, say, a week's duration. With such a system of responsibility to the electorate, judicial review might be found to be no more necessary than it is in England or in fact in the rest of the world other than America.[4] As it is, and with executive and legislative not oversensitive to the demands of the electorate, many people find support for an argument that judicial review affords at least some protection from irresponsibility in high office. Along with consideration of such possibilities should come, perhaps as an early step, provision for a more direct control of the people over their fundamental law as expressed in the Constitution. The process of amendment should be made one whereby the vote of the entire electorate is taken directly and promptly. Proposed amendments should be accepted or rejected by a plurality of the popular vote, recorded at the next election after their submission is authorized by Congress.

Until such changes are made it seems wiser to content ourselves with redefining our constitutional grants along lines indicated by Marshall and by the Magna Carta, than to add new and yet more cumbersome devices to our governmental structure.

Since the above article was prepared the President has made his recommendations for court reform, including the proposal that additional judges be appointed whenever there are judges who continue to act after becoming seventy years of age. The proposal calls for the immediate appointment of six additional supreme court justices. It has caused much confusion of thought and of plan among sponsors of constitutional amendments. If,

[4] "The decision is premature whether you, and those who agree with you, have been right in trying to shackle the free will of a free people by judicial control, or whether we have been right in trusting the free will and a free people to work out their own salvation." Address by the Earl of Birkenhead (Sir Frederick E. Smith, former Conservative Lord Chancellor) before the American Bar Association, August 29, 1923, 9 A.B.A.J. 578, 581 (1923).



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however, the ideas set forth in this article are sound, the confusion, at least of thought, should not exist. Neither President nor Congress can control the action of judges after they are appointed and therefore the permanent problem of distribution of power cannot be settled in this manner. The only effect the plan can have in this regard is at most a purely temporary one, perhaps resulting in the saving of a few existing statutes. As a long-range matter the President's proposal is in fact, as it is in form, a retirement or pension plan and as such deserves unemotional consideration on its merits. For example in comparison with state constitutional provisions forcing the retirement of all judges at the age of seventy it may provide a means of retaining the services of the unusually vigorous Holmes or Brandeis.

It would be unfortunate if the confusion of thought continued, for the retirement proposal is apart from and not necessarily inconsistent with amendments redistributing legislative power. However it is viewed, it should not militate against a permanent solution of the broader question by amendment. In fact it has the merit that it makes all other temporary expedients quite useless. It is politically more adroit than suggestions of new checks and balances or other limited devices. It sets in clearer relief than ever the need of a definite and precise regrant of power to the legislature in matters of social welfare.



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# The Revolt Against Christianity

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

REVOLTS come from inside the fold; revolts against Christianity should have their origin among Christians or else find some other name. There are, however, such things as revolts by contagion. Christianity has been assailed time and time again from the outside but sooner or later professed adherents have been drawn into the controversy. Doctrinal differences among Christians, disruptive as they may be to the peace and unity of the Church, are not to be treated as revolts so long as the contending parties stand firm in their acceptance of the same Lord and Master. Furthermore, the ancient Gnostic movements belong to a remote environment and have little practical bearing on the critical attitude of today.

On the threshold it may be noted that throughout all the centuries of destructive criticism the character of Jesus Christ has never been besmirched. A few individuals have made slighting references—questioning His methods and His wisdom; but they have never impugned His sincerity. Their innuendoes have not formed the platforms of a party or been paraded as slogans. We are not sure that a single revolt has had its beginning in antagonism to the Christian faith as such. The revolt has been, not against the religion itself but rather against something identified or associated with the religion. We may almost declare that men have revolted against Christianity because they felt that Christianity, as it demonstrated itself before their eyes, had already revolted against itself.

A fruitful cause of revolt has been the Church's alliance with vested interests. When men have groaned under an oppressive government they have regarded the Church as a sister-agent of oppression and when they have risen against misrule they have included the Church in their revolution.



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A good deal of the revolt against Christianity springs from the feeling that Christianity imposes unwholesome restraints; that it surrounds man's normal nature with repressions and taboos, that it impedes the spirit of progress, that it hampers the pursuit of truth, that it stands in the way of unbiased investigation. Here we find the Church indicted for the sins of individuals and groups. It may be true—in fact, it is true—that eminent churchmen and ecclesiastical synods have sought to stop the minute hand of scientific inquiry; none the less Christianity itself—whatever its spokesmen do or say—stands for truth. Progressive, open-minded clergymen, eager to keep abreast of scientific discovery and far removed from the provincial attitude towards healthy diversions and amusements, are ever finding themselves pigeon-holed in the lay mind along with the most backward and ignorant reactionaries. Articles are written for current periodicals by men of breadth and tolerance. Much of the present-day revolt is based on a superficial estimate of the intelligence of the clergy and of the real stand of Christianity.

The religious reform movements of the middle ages were connected with the changes growing out of the Crusades—the rise of commerce, growth of luxury, and in industry the transition to a money basis. Cities had gained in population and power and a new urban proletariat was created. Correspondingly there was widespread poverty. The movements of the barefoot friars, Waldenses, Humiliati, and the Bons Hommes were inspired by democratic and communistic ideals. The Bohemian revolt, made famous by John Huss, was quite as much political and social as religious. Even Savonarola was a great democrat as well as a religious prophet. The Lollards and John Wycliffe are illustrative of the revolt of the latter part of the middle ages. In the England of the 14th century a great political Christendom, whose rulers were statesmen with aims and policies of a worldly type, was to be found side by side with a religious Christendom full of the ideas of separation from the world by self-sacrifice. The war between the



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two ideals was fought out in almost every country of Europe at about the same time. In England Wycliffe's life was given to the struggle.

The Church in the middle ages had sunk to its lowest point of spiritual decay. Moreover the Church, already a big landowner and strongly entrenched, was regarded with a good deal of resentment. Hallam the historian says:

> The greater part of literature in the middle ages, at least from the twelfth century, may be considered as artillery levelled against the clergy. . . . If there is one theme upon which the most serious as well as the lightest, the most orthodox as the most heretical, writers are united, it is ecclesiastical corruption.

And John Richard Green writes that the English clergy's selfishness

> severed them from the nation at large. Immense as was their wealth, they bore as little as they could of the common burdens of the realm. . . . The clergy penetrated by their control over wills, contracts, divorces, by the dues they exacted, as well as directly religious offices, into the very heart of the social life around them. No figure was better known or more hated than the summoner who enforced the jurisdiction and levied the dues of their courts. On the other hand, their moral authority was rapidly passing away.

On the heels of the Black Death the cry of the poor found utterance in the words of a priest of Kent, John Ball, who in defiance of interdict and imprisonment preached to the yeomen of Kent:

> Things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. . . . They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread, and we eat oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state.

When Parliament, in 1380, levied a poll-tax on every person of the realm to defray the expenses of a war with France the laborers of Kent County rose in arms. They plundered the



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palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Archbishop Sudbury was dragged from his sanctuary and beheaded.

In a much calmer way John Wycliffe was pleading for a return of the Church to her divine mission. The Church, he declared, must aid men to live a life of evangelical poverty separate from the world and imitative of Christ. The principles of Christ were not assailed.

Though the Protestant Reformation was not a revolt against Christianity, it was a protest against those elements that have made the Church peculiarly vulnerable. In 1499 the Venetian ambassador called Rome the sewer of the whole world. In protest, moreover, against the pretensions of the papacy to illimitable temporal power there came a revolt of the secular rulers of Europe and a readiness to encourage any movement of revolt among the masses of the people that might curtail the papal claim to temporal sovereignty.

Though Voltaire attacked the Church with many a ringing blow he was no atheist. "The Christianity he attacked was not that of the Sermon on the Mount." His deism was partly a reaction against the corruption, cruelty and bigotry of his day. The Church in France held, tax-free, more than a fifth of the land. Voltaire also saw in the Church a weapon of persecution and a refuge for superstition. He was no friendlier, however, to the Calvinists, who substituted for superstition an austerity and harshness no better. He felt that the spirit of dogma bred the madness of religious wars. "It is undeniably a terrible reproach," he said, "that the Christian Church should have been perpetually torn with strife and that blood should have been shed for so many centuries by men who proclaimed the god of peace." One of his quarrels with the Church rested on its denunciation of other crimes while ignoring the wickedness of war. "Miserable physicians of souls," he exclaimed, "you cry out for five quarters of an hour against the mere pricks of a pin, and say no word on the curse which tears us into a thousand pieces!"

Voltaire was an elderly man when the Calas case aroused



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his resentment. Jean Calas was a Protestant merchant in Toulouse, one of the strongest Roman Catholic towns of France. The poor man was tortured to death on a faked-up charge and his property was confiscated. Voltaire took up the cudgel in behalf of his family, believing that religious bigotry was the real cause of the accusation.

Finally no man has better epitomized the spirit of revolt than did Voltaire in the following words:

> Mankind resents in secret all authority, the more so since every authority endeavors to increase its powers. And when to resist that authority a pretext is found which may well be deemed sacred, revolt soon becomes a duty. Thus some become persecutors and others rebels, while all alike bear witness to God of the justice of their cause.

Despite Voltaire the Church clung to its privileges and Protestants continued to groan under monstrous civil and religious disabilities. They were forbidden to worship together and every official career was closed to them. When Louis XVI was crowned king in 1775 Archbishop Brienne thus addressed the monarch: "You will disapprove of culpable systems of toleration. . . . To you is reserved the privilege of giving the final blow to Calvinism in your dominion." The sequel is well known. Mirabeau and his followers regarded the Church as hopelessly bound up with the old régime and its abuses; both must be swept away together.

In the 19th century there was a strong undercurrent of feeling against Christianity, voiced by several eminent literary figures. Popular lecturers toured the country calling attention to Biblical inconsistencies and leaving behind them innumerable village atheists.

The general state of unrest throws some light on the unbelief of the century. The Industrial Revolution, bringing wealth to some, brought poverty to the many. From 1760 to 1818 the population of England increased 70 per cent; simultaneously the poor relief increased 530 per cent. Before the passing of Lord Apthorp's Factory Act, in 1833, children of six were working in factories from five in the morning until



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six in the evening. Small boys of four were sent up flues seven inches square.

Yet the Church seemed callous to all these abuses. Wilberforce, who had devoted his life to the abolition of the slave trade and who was the recognized lay leader of the evangelical element in the English Church, wrote of the poorest classes at home that "Their more lowly path had been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties and contentedly to bear its inconveniences; that the present state of things is very short; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly are not worth the contest; that the peace of mind which religion offers . . . affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man's reach, and that in this view the poor have the advantage; that if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted."

With the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 a storm of protest broke out all over Western Christendom and the measures taken to impede the pursuit of scientific truth did much to alienate men from their faith. At the height of this period of unrest, when men were asserting that Christianity made demands no thinking person would accept, the Vatican Council widened the breach with its declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. The higher criticism of the Bible also influenced lay opinion profoundly. The pronouncements of German scholars dealt a severe blow to long-cherished notions of literal Biblical inspiration; and the efforts made to suppress these findings, manifest in such blunders as the Colenso trial, did much to brand the Church as narrow and bigoted if not dishonest.

That there is today a revolt against Christianity will not be denied. We need not read the foreign news and study the situation in Russia, Mexico, Spain and Germany to be convinced: the evidence is at our own door. There are, of course, causes. The Church of today is suffering from the sins of the



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fathers. Many of our fault-finders have inherited the feeling that ministers are gullible, intolerant, unreceptive to truth, meticulous in regard to trifles and utterly unprogressive. They speak and write on the assumption that Christianity must stand or fall on the story of the prophet's bald head or Jonah and the whale. They do not realize that even the mentalities of the clergy are capable of development.

Theodore Dreiser, who stands at the head of the realistic movement in American fiction, regards religion as an illusion capable of deceiving only those blind to life's realities. When he describes his home and early environment, however, we can trace the origin of that distaste for Christianity which ripened into something aggressive. He tells us that he was born in a German Roman Catholic household and that his father's consuming interest was "a Catholicism degraded into mere ceremonies and prohibitions." "The dance in our home and our town was taboo. The theatre was an institution which led to crime, the saloon a centre of low, even bestial vices. . . . It was considered good business, if you please, to be connected with some religious organization. . . . We were taught persistently to shun most human experiences as either dangerous or degrading or destructive. The less you knew about life the better: the more you knew about the fictional heaven and hell ditto." Later, as a reporter, Dreiser, so he tells us, discovered that practically all men, high or low, were lying hypocrites, outwardly professing a fine morality but privately violating it without hesitation whenever it would serve their turn in the pursuit of gain or in the satisfaction of lust. Gradually he broadened till he was liberated "from moralistic and religionistic qualms." He grew to judge men "thoroughly sound intellectually" in proportion as he found them "quite free from the narrow, cramping conventions of their day." The "religionist" continued to be regarded as "a swallower of romance or a masquerader looking to profit and preferment."

It is also felt that the Church has remained inactive at the time that it should have bestirred itself, that it does not put



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its theories into practice. The attitude of the Church in the World War is constantly made the subject of attack. That the Church has no remedy for the financial depression has also been made a cause for censure. Statements in the religious press that hard times will bring the people back to their knees are irritating: they seem to imply an unchristian "I told you so" attitude and suggest that the Church is ready to capitalize on people's calamities. Moreover, as Felix Morrow wrote, in the *Saturday Review of Literature*:

> Adoring references to the "stewardship of God's wealth" accompanied the growing prosperity of the churches at the steward's hands. . . . Though hangovers from the anti-ecclesiastical, conventicle, and lower-class origins of the Protestant sects still receive articulation, the churches have become powerful, enormously rich ecclesiastical domains bound up with business interests.

In the Bampton Lectures of 1907 James H. F. Peile summed up the case against the consistencies of churchmen as follows:

> We are told that whole classes of our fellow-countrymen have drifted away from any kind of systematic religion, and that the chief cause of this departure is the impression that outward religious observances and the acceptance of Creeds makes no difference in action and character; that people who go to church are no better than those who do not.

It cannot be denied that there is an increasing alienation between the working class and the churches. As Rauschenbusch has observed, the alienation is most complete wherever our industrial development has advanced farthest and has created a distinct class of wage-workers. Many have dropped out because they cannot afford to take their share in the expensive maintenance of a church in a large city. Many have quit because the tone, spirit, and point of view in the churches is that of another social class or because the commercial classes dominate the spiritual atmosphere of the large city churches. As the working men grow more class-conscious they come to regard business men as their antagonists and the possessing



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classes as exploiters who live on their labor. In spite of the favorable equipment of the Church in America there is imminent danger that the working people will pass from indifference to hostility, from religious enthusiasm to anti-religious bitterness.

The Reverend Herbert Parrish observes that

> a majority of the best among us keep aloof from the activities of churches, from religious expression altogether. They are disgusted with the absurd crudities in worship, the dull drab stupid services, the emotional revivalism, the lack of color, beauty, dignity and power. The American religion of the future must be a religion that will at once engage the enthusiasm of the masses and at the same time justify itself to the enlightened and critical intelligence of our people. It must have simplicity and dignity. It must include beauty. It must be real. It must demonstrate actual power.

The characteristic tone of a great deal of the present-day attack on Christianity is much to be deplored. The writers of the 19th century who saw fit to question the raison d'etre of the Christian religion were almost uniformly courteous, even reverential, and they brought to their task a considerable background of scholarship. But many of the writers of today seem to regard Christianity as an antagonist already whipped out. No preparation is necessary. Their approach is flippant and patronizing.

Men of ideals and a strong sense of integrity—the men who are often in the vanguard of revolt—are far more concerned with the lives and examples set by Christians, with the practical manifestations of a religion in the lives of its professors, than they are with the body of doctrine. Orthodoxy by itself is not strong enough to weather the storm. Faith without works is dead.

In recent centuries the Church has come in for some of its hardest blows when the prime cause of offense was the economic order. Are we immune in America?

I was recently conversing with a friend who had just returned from New York. He said:



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I spent quite a while at Radio City. There I could not help observing the light, abandoned spirit the people showed. There were big crowds going in and out of the lobby and it appeared to be a cross-section of the America which has no urgent financial problems. At least everybody looked carefree. Then I walked across the avenue to St. Patrick's Cathedral. What an entirely different group I saw! There were men and women at prayer, poorly dressed, sad-looking. . . . And the thought came to me: Will those people have the same affection for their Church when they start wondering why they are not in the Radio City audience?

While he was speaking, my mind wandered back to my native state. I recalled the hard lot of the Southern one-horse farmer—the man who knows no prospect but grim, unrelenting toil to the day of his death. He rarely gets out of debt; the land-owner and the supply-merchant have liens far in excess of his crop. His wife must work from early morn till late at night and wear the cheapest clothing. His children frequently have no shoes and are fortunate to have five months of schooling. Then I pictured the little wooden chapel where the farmer and his family go to "preaching." I thought of the revivals and the shouting; the lurid pictures of a Paradise to come, with pearly gates and ivory pavement, unending leisure, and everything imaginable to compensate the rude tiller of the soil for his hard lot. I could see the smiling faces of the congregation and the thrill of expectation so evident. I realized that this crude, realistic conception of heaven was the thing which enabled the farmer to rise next morning for another week of the same monotonous drudgery. The simple services with their emotional appeal became a safety-valve. But God help the Church when that farmer starts brooding on the fact that the landlord and his mortgagee are pillars of the same Church and wonders if he is not selling his birthright for a mess of pottage.

That the Church has been the friend and consolation of the humble, the outcast and the oppressed no man can deny. No Christian need apologize for the ameliorating and exhilarating influence of religion. But men who conceive a grievance are



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likely to become irrational. When the cataclysm comes it is too late for the Church to take sides. It should seek now to inculcate courageously and unequivocally the principles of social justice.

We all know Millet's great masterpiece, "The Angelus." Two peasants stand in the field, their heads bowed in prayer. In the background stands the village church. The Christian sees something exquisitely beautiful in that picture—religion as a vital force in the lives of humble, hardworking men and women, easing the burdens of toil and poverty, imparting a sense of nobility and power, linking the lowly with the Infinite. But there are others who might gaze on that same picture with different reactions. They might see in religion the drug that lulls the peasant into a sense of complacency and contentment while others prosper on the fruit of his toil, something that blinds him to a recognition of his rights, that quenches the fire of ambition and aspiration, that keeps him a peasant—with a peasant's low standard of living, cramped intelligence, and narrow outlook, and leaving as legacy an illiterate, undernourished posterity. Furthermore, it is the latter who will write the books which the serious-minded young people will read and accept.

He is deaf who cannot hear murmurs of discontent even now. Men are questioning the Church's privileges. Why should so much valuable property go untaxed? In England farmers are forcibly resisting the collection of tithes. The Church stands in the midst of a society no longer awed by its venerable history and traditions but frankly skeptical of its divine commission. It must prove its case by its fruits. It is no time to cry "Persecution" and bemoan the callousness of a perverse generation. It behooves churchmen to gird up their loins with truth and fight the good fight against moral depravity, greed, bigotry and inertia.



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# What Shapes Our Ends?

EDWIN GRANT CONKLIN

PHILOSOPHICALLY the most important work of modern science is not the discovery of entirely new phenomena nor even the practical application of such discoveries but rather the unification of knowledge and the bringing of the most diverse facts under one point of view by showing that they proceed from certain common causes. All nature is one and man has subdivided it into provinces merely for convenience and effectiveness of treatment. It is the aim of every science not only to harmonize and unify all the phenomena which come within its field but also to bring these phenomena into relation with those of other sciences. It has long been recognized that there is no hard and fast line between physics and chemistry; within recent years some of the greatest discoveries in the history of these sciences have been made in the borderland between the two. On the other hand it has generally been supposed that a great gulf separates the living from the lifeless, the science of biology from the sciences of chemistry and physics.

To a certain extent this supposition is undoubtedly true. There is no sharper line of demarcation in all nature than that between the living and the not-living and there is no satisfactory evidence that at the present time lifeless matter becomes living except in the presence of preexisting living matter. The recent discovery of ultra-microscopic "filter-passers" such as bacteriophage and viruses may perhaps serve to bridge this gulf. Some of these viruses are the causes of many animal and plant diseases, such as small-pox, infantile paralysis, common colds and the mosaic diseases of plants; they are so small that they pass through the finest porcelain filters and cannot be seen by the most powerful microscopes; some of them have been crystallized as chemical proteins and have been concen-



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trated by high centrifugal force without losing their infective properties; they are sterilized by high temperatures; and within living cells they have some of the properties of living matter such as growth and multiplication. If they should be found to have these properties apart from all other living matter they might well be regarded as a link between the living and the not-living.

However many vital phenomena are caused by well-known chemical and physical processes and this has led to the view that sooner or later all vital phenomena will be explicable in terms of chemistry and physics. Specifically this is what is meant by the "mechanistic conception of life." "Vitalism," on the other hand, maintains that the distinctive causes of life phenomena are other than physical and chemical, *viz.* vital, and that vital causes can never be analyzed into chemical and physical components. It should be noted that so far as most life phenomena are concerned both of these views are still mere hypotheses. They deal with what may or may not be expected in the future, but in so far as they represent attitudes of mind based upon present knowledge they are of interest in science as well as in philosophy.

The biologist is often asked, either naively or scornfully, "What is life?" One might as well ask "What is matter, energy, mind?" No final and complete answer to such questions is possible. Things which cannot be analyzed into constituents or causes can be defined only in terms of their properties. At present we are not able to determine the causes of life and we must, therefore, define it in terms of its properties.

The distinctive characteristics of living things are generally said to be (1) protoplasmic and cellular organization, (2) metabolism, (3) reproduction, (4) differential sensitivity, (5) adaptability. Are these properties explicable in terms of physics and chemistry? Does the law of cause and effect apply here as elsewhere in nature? Theoretical mechanism would answer each of these questions in the affirmative, vitalism in the negative. But practically and actually the mechanist knows that there are



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many phenomena of life which cannot at present be explained in terms of physics and chemistry, though he has faith that they may ultimately be so explained. On the other hand the vitalist knows that the immediate causes of many life processes are physical and chemical, though it is always possible to assume that the more remote causes are neither.

1. Certain simulacra of protoplasm and cells have been produced artificially but they bear only a few resemblances to the real living substance. Such "artificial protoplasms" show that some structures and functions of living cells may be produced by chemical and physical processes, but the more we know of protoplasm and cells the less likely it seems that it will ever be possible to synthesize them artificially. Nevertheless this does not prove that they are not mechanisms, but rather that they may be extraordinarily complex mechanisms.

2. For the past century or two, and ever increasingly up to the present time, physiology has been dealing with the physics and chemistry of metabolism. Since the time of Lavoisier it has been known that combustion goes on in the body, oxygen being taken in and carbon-dioxide given off, as in combustion outside the body. Digestion is a chemical process which can be duplicated in the laboratory. Muscular contraction and even nerve conduction are accompanied by well-known chemical and physical changes. Even the strongest adherents of vitalism recognize the fact that neither matter nor energy is created or destroyed in an organism, but that these merely undergo transformations (metabolism). All the measurable energy of an animal comes from its food just as the energy of an engine comes from its fuel.

3. The properties of reproduction, sensitivity and adaptability are more difficult to explain on a physico-chemical basis than is metabolism. Certain analogies to each of these processes are found in the inorganic world and certain steps in each of them are plainly physico-chemical, but there is left a large residuum which cannot at present be explained on mechanistic principles. Much progress, however, is being made in this direction, jus-



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tifying the expectation that many more, if not all, vital processes will ultimately find a mechanistic explanation. Certainly there seems to be no justification for abandoning the search for such causes at a time when they are being found as never before, or for turning at once from a mechanistic philosophy to obscurantism or mysticism. For although mechanism may not in the last analysis explain vital phenomena, or anything else for that matter, it is evident that very much of a mechanistic nature remains to be discovered in organisms, and the great advantage of mechanism over vitalism is not only that it is more intelligible but also that it encourages scientific investigation, whereas a thorough-going belief in vitalism discourages research.

Of late several notable attacks have been made upon the mechanistic conception of life. It is claimed by some of the "neo-vitalists" that many life processes are indeterminate, non-predictable, non-mechanistic and creative, and they attempt to solve the riddles of life by a direct appeal to mysterious conditions and principles which are found in living things but nowhere else in nature. Thus Bergson maintains that starting from different sources and proceeding by different routes evolution may reach the same terminus. He says that the eye of the mollusk, Pecten, and the eye of a vertebrate are essentially similar though they have evolved by wholly different paths and from wholly different sources; or again that societies of ants and of men show many resemblances though they have evolved in entirely different ways. If identical results can thus come from different causes there is scientific indeterminism, and some principle other than cause and effect must be involved, some form of vitalism rather than mechanism.

But neither in the living nor in the not-living world do identical results come from dissimilar causes; in short, convergent evolution does not result in identical structures. When Mivart claimed that the eye of a cephalopod and the eye of a vertebrate were homologous, though they could not have had a common origin, Darwin replied by showing that these two types of eyes are in no sense homologous—that is, they are fundamentally



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dissimilar though superficially alike. And in reply to Bergson it may be said that although the eye of Pecten is in a single feature, namely the inverted retina, like the vertebrate eye, it is in other respects fundamentally different. Neither are the similarities between the societies of ants and of men real homologies. In all such cases the similarities that exist are due to fundamental properties of living things and to principles of general application such as the extension of differentiation and integration from persons to colonies and states. They indicate the essential unity of living things but they certainly do not prove that identical results may follow different causes and that, therefore, life processes are indeterminate.

It is true that it is often impossible to predict what living things will do but this is probably owing to the fact that the factors involved are very numerous and complex. Whenever the number of factors is large and the times and circumstances of their action variable it is difficult to predict results, as is seen for example in so simple a thing as weather predictions. This is especially true of the behavior of higher animals. Professor W. K. Brooks used to comment upon the ease of predicting what would happen when you kick a stone as compared with the difficulty of predicting the results of kicking a dog. In the latter case one needs to take into account many hereditary and environmental factors; but when all these factors are taken into account there is good reason to believe that the results in the case of the dog would be as predictable, that is as determinate, as in the case of the stone.

Driesch maintains that adaptive responses in general cannot be the results of physico-chemical causes. When he asserts that it is inconceivable that any machine could be broken up in the three dimensions of space and the fragments still be capable of producing whole machines, as is possible to some organisms, it is evident that his conception of a machine is too narrowly limited to those of human invention. The living machine consists of machines within machines. Every organism is composed of cells within which are nuclei. The visible differentiations of a



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body are developed in the portion of the cell outside the nucleus, but always under the influence of the nucleus. The nucleus itself rarely undergoes differentiation so that there is in every such nucleus a complete machine which under certain conditions is capable of developing a complete organism, as is the case in the development of an egg cell. If this nuclear machine is fragmented or destroyed normal development or regulation does not occur. Therefore the machine-theory of organization does not fail in this case; only Driesch's conception of the vital machine fails because the real organism is vastly more complex than he supposed.

Neither in living nor in lifeless things are mechanistic factors merely additive, as Driesch has claimed; but they are frequently creative. In chemical compounds new qualities appear which were not present in any of the elements entering the compounds. No one could predict beforehand the qualities of water from the properties of hydrogen and oxygen, and in general one cannot predict the results of combinations or interactions of factors before they have been learned by experience. The fact that one could not predict consciousness from a knowledge of the organic or inorganic constituents of the human body is not fundamentally different from these other cases in which new things are formed by new combinations. The "creative evolution" of Bergson and the "emergent evolution" of Lloyd Morgan are not different in principle from "creative synthesis" which is found everywhere in the living and the lifeless world; it is therefore no evidence of vitalism.

The new vitalism no less than the old has failed at every point to establish its main proposition, namely that the reactions of organisms are not causal and that they require, in order to explain them, a special principle which is lacking in the inorganic world and which is non-mechanistic in action and unrelated to the principle of cause and effect. There may be some non-mechanical or teleological principle in all nature, but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that in this regard the living world differs fundamentally from the lifeless.



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It is particularly with reference to organic fitness, or adaptations, and to psychic phenomena of higher animals that the mechanistic philosophy seems most inadequate. The wonderful adaptations of organisms to their environments, of structures to habits, of responses to needs, have ever been and still are the greatest problems of biology. How have lowly organisms learned to utilize processes of chemistry and physics so subtle in character that intelligent man after centuries of civilization has come only to the place where he can appreciate these processes but cannot duplicate them? How have these units of living matter, the cells, come to have complex teleological mechanisms for assimilation, growth and division, for secretion, contraction and sensation? How can we explain the origin of multitudes of inheritance units, their location in the chromosomes, the wonderful mechanism of mitosis for the precise division and distribution of these chromosomes to all the cells of the body, and how explain the union of homologous maternal and paternal chromosomes in synapsis and their unique method of separation in the reduction division, upon which processes the phenomena of Mendelian inheritance depend? How is it possible to explain the teleological character of embryonic development in which the end is apparently in view from the beginning? How can we account for the adaptive tropisms, reactions and instincts of animals, the complicated but delicately adjusted relationships between individuals as well as species, their ingenious means of defense and offense and the surprising efficiency of the living machine? Finally is it possible to find any mechanistic explanation of the adaptations of individuals to conditions which neither they nor their ancestors have ever before experienced?

Samuel Butler, Bernard Shaw, Bergson, Driesch and many others maintain that the evolution of adaptations and intelligence cannot be explained on the basis of a mechanistic philosophy, such as Darwinism, and in general they adopt the Lamarckian philosophy of evolution. Lamarckism teaches that individually acquired adaptations are inherited and thus become



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racial, but it attempts no other explanation of the origin of individual adaptations and useful responses than is to be found in "desire," "need" or "will" which are not regarded as mechanistic causes. Lamarckism is thus fundamentally non-mechanistic and it is not surprising that vitalists and obscurantists should generally favor the Lamarckian philosophy. The only purely mechanistic explanation of adaptations that has ever been proposed is Darwinism, or rather neo-Darwinism. It rejects the idea of the inheritance of acquired characteristics and explains all racial adaptations as the result of the elimination of unfit individuals ("personal selection") while individually acquired adaptations and useful responses to new conditions are accounted for by the elimination of unfit structures and functions within the individual ("intra-personal selection"). Thus the simple mechanical principles of over-production of varied individuals or reactions and the elimination of the less fit furnish a mechanistic explanation of all kinds of fitness in the living world. This is the crowning glory of Darwin's great theory; it is not so much its species-forming power which impresses one as its ability to explain on mechanistic principles the wonderful adaptations of the living world.

But in man at least, and probably also in some of the higher animals, there is conscious purpose, and the behavior of many lower animals suggests that they also possess something similar to human purpose though it is probably not accompanied by consciousness. If conscious purpose has evolved during the course of evolution, as it certainly develops during the individual development of man, do we not here find a phenomenon which cannot be explained as due to mechanistic causes? And if conscious purpose is non-mechanistic in its origin, is it not probable that "unconscious purpose," such as is manifested in the apparently purposive responses of digestion, respiration, circulation, development, regulation and adaptive behavior in general, is also non-mechanistic? In short mechanism must account for intelligence and purpose in man, as well as for fitness in all organisms, if it is a universal principle. All such phenomena,



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from conscious purpose at one extreme to instinctive reactions and to tropisms at the other, seem to be fundamentally akin and if mechanism fails to explain any of them it probably fails with all; if tropism and instincts are explicable on mechanistic grounds, probably even perceptual purpose may be so explained.

Results may be purposive although their causes are mechanistic; the contrary view is due to a false conception of purpose or of mechanism. There are excellent reasons for believing that purpose and will in ourselves are not uncaused but rather that they are results of antecedent causes—that they also are links in the chain of cause and effect and therefore are mechanistic in origin. The beneficial responses of protozoa and many other lower organisms are the residuum left after the elimination of non-beneficial responses; in these organisms, however, there is little if any capacity to profit by experience. On the other hand a cat that by random movements accidentally unlatches a door and lets itself out, as in Thorndike's experiments, gradually omits useless movements, remembers past successes and finally learns to unlatch the door at once, thus showing intelligent purpose, developed through the mechanistic process of the elimination of useless responses.

There is every reason to believe that human beings learn to walk and talk and that they arrive at intelligence and reason by the same process, a process of many trials and errors, a few trials and successes, a remembering of these past experiences and their application to new conditions. All solving of problems, directed thinking and consecutive reasoning are accompanied by, if they do not consist in, rapid elimination of unfit ideas and mental activities. Thus intelligence and purpose in man, no less than fitness in all organisms, may be explained as the result of the elimination of the unfit. Intelligence and purpose are also adaptations and for this reason, if for no other, adaptations appear to be intelligent and purposive.

Nevertheless mechanistic explanations of life and fitness and purpose are not complete and many things are left unexplained. For example, the mechanism of trial and error by which Para-



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mecium avoids extremes of heat and cold is based upon its ability to discriminate between favorable and unfavorable, satisfactory and unsatisfactory conditions. In some of the simplest forms of living matter as well as in the most complex this capacity exists and for the present at least it cannot be accounted for on mechanistic grounds. Thus in our mechanistic explanations of fitness we put in at the beginning what we get out at the end, namely a capacity to discriminate between the satisfactory and the unsatisfactory and a tendency to retain the one and eliminate the other. "It is because living things are irritable, registrative, persistent, variable that they have been able to evolve in adaptive ways," but we cannot explain the fact that they possess these qualities. Thus, as in all mechanistic explanations, we introduce in our factors the equivalents of the things which we seek to explain.

According to pure Darwinism evolution and adaptation should have gone farther and faster in rapidly breeding organisms in which there has been an enormous amount of elimination than in slowly breeding forms in which elimination has been relatively slight. And yet the reverse is true; in general the higher the organism the lower is its rate of reproduction and elimination. The guiding and directing power of selection should be proportional to its severity; if it eliminates only those mutants that are positively injurious or non-viable, as many adherents of the mutation theory maintain, would it be possible to explain such perfect adaptations as are found, for example, in the eye? If these be attributed to the chance occurrence of favorable mutations do we not place upon chance an intolerable burden when we load upon it not only all the wonderful adaptations in such an organ as the eye but also all the multitudes of adaptations and coadaptations which exist in every part and function of man or one of the higher animals?

Philosophically it is impossible to escape the conclusion that evolution has revealed a larger teleology than was ever dreamed of before, a teleology that differs from vitalism in that it takes in not only the living but also the lifeless world. This concep-



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tion of a general teleological principle running through all nature differs from vitalism in that it recognizes no world-wide distinction between the organic and the inorganic; both belong to the same universe; in both mechanism is universal, and so also is teleology. Here is common ground upon which mechanists, vitalists and religionists may take their stand; for the thing which mechanists desire to prove is not the absence of teleology but the universal presence of mechanism, whereas the proposition which defenders of vitalism and of religion are concerned to prove is not the absence of mechanism but the presence of teleology.

And yet science cannot deal with teleology but only with causes and effects and mechanisms; *given* matter and energy with all their potentialities, science deals with the succession of events in time, explaining them in a purely mechanistic manner. In biology the desire for simple mechanical explanation is so great that it often causes us to minify the difficulties and magnify the successes of such explanations. We may temporarily close our eyes to these difficulties but they remain and must be reckoned with. Few persons have the intellectual honesty of Darwin who wrote down at once the objections to his theory as they occurred to him, lest he might forget them, and who confessed that he never thought of explaining the evolution of the eye without a shudder.

Even if an ultimate mechanistic explanation of life and fitness and purpose is not possible it does not follow that we must *at once* resort to an explanation which is either non-mechanistic or supernatural. Many things which were once supposed to be due to supernatural causes are now readily explained by natural ones. The earlier students of life proposed absurdly simple mechanical explanations of its processes. Later these were replaced by more complex mechanisms, and when these latter fail to offer satisfactory explanations the scientific solution must be sought in more and more complex mechanisms, for science deals only with mechanisms, and a scientific explanation must be mechanistic.



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# Hutchins' "Higher Learning" Grounded

HARRY WOODBURN CHASE

I AM writing this article primarily because I have been reading President Hutchins' *The Higher Learning in America.* I have enjoyed reading it. It is an intellectual irritant of the first order. Coming as it does at a time when the higher learning needs desperately to look to its housekeeping it will serve to stimulate the processes of thought in many an academic mind. About many things that President Hutchins says there can be no dispute. Our higher learning is confused; it has not always resisted the temptation to allow its educational policies to be determined by the interests of large givers or the views of foundations; its point of view has been too largely dominated by that of its professional schools; its liberal arts colleges are in need of order and coherence; there ought to be a redefinition of that period which includes the last two years of high school and the first two years of college.

All these things one can admit and yet differ sharply from the nature of the remedies proposed and the philosophy on which they are based. Let me first summarize briefly the central argument of the book, as I understand it. We find ourselves, President Hutchins says, confronted under modern economic conditions with the problem of dealing with youth up to about its twentieth year, before it can pass on either into productive occupations or into the university proper. Technological changes are extending upward the age limits of education for our population as a whole. Of this group of youth in their teens probably two-thirds are capable of learning from books and therefore should receive a good general education. This should



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not be vocational. It has no concern with character or with the development of social attitudes. It should definitely seek to develop the intellectual virtues. "An intellect properly disciplined, an intellect properly habituated, is an intellect able to operate at will in all fields."

Now, since the elements of our common human nature are the same at all times and in all places the notion of educating a man to live in any particular time or place, of adjusting him to any particular environment, is foreign to the true conception of education. "The heart of any course of study designed for the whole people will be, if education is really understood, the same at any time in any place under any political, social or economic conditions."

Such a general education should be given in four years, the last two years of high school and the first two years of college. The curriculum (which is to be the same *omnibus et ubique*) has as its core five subjects. First, youth must learn to read intelligently and critically the great classics of world literature. Second, there will be the study of grammar which "disciplines the mind and develops the logical faculty." Third, he includes rhetoric, which gives the rules of speaking and writing; fourth, logic, which gives the rules of reasoning, and fifth, mathematics, which is reasoning in its clearest and most precise form: "correctness in thinking may be more directly and impressively taught through mathematics than in any other way."

Then, at the end of this general education, those who are fitted will pass on into the university proper. Now the university at present lacks a unifying concept. It consists of virtually unrelated specialties plus its professional schools. The medieval university found such a central concept in the study of theology. Since that, under the conditions of modern life, is not adapted to the unifying of learning we must turn to metaphysics, to the study of first principles, which is the main business with which the university proper should concern itself.

So much for President Hutchins' way out. That it consists of a definite, concrete series of proposals is a welcome relief



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after the nebulous and platitudinous character of much of our thinking and speaking about the higher learning. It is an attempt to analyze the objectives of general education and to set up a definite curriculum in terms of which the job can get itself done. True, others who are thinking quite as concretely come out with very different conclusions. For example, Dean Johnston of the University of Minnesota in a recent address declares

> What we have learned about higher education in the strenuous decade or two just passed is to analyze our job in relation to the numerous functions and objectives to be served. We find our objectives multiplying as we analyze the abilities and interests of our individual students who now stand at the center of our picture in place of the subjects of study. Our problem now is how to use those subjects not as disciplines to form and mould our students but as instruments or exercises to enable the individual student to develop his own powers and to organize his talents and energies in the prosecution of the work most appropriate for him to do.
>
> Under this new conception there are certain things that form constant parts or aspects of our duties and a few characteristics which all individual curricula have in common.

It would be difficult to find two points of view more in opposition. One centers about a universally valid disciplinary curriculum, the other about the needs of the individual student. Both are utterances of administrators of experience, both of whom have made definite contributions to education. There is, obviously enough, confusion about the higher learning.

Of course, the historical antecedents of the Hutchins view are clear enough. It is out of Plato by way of the medieval schoolmen. The medievalist, it will be recalled, set up just such a universal curriculum and called it the seven liberal arts. It included grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. President Hutchins includes literature and omits music and astronomy—let us say rather that he postpones them, for the study of the principles underlying them would probably be included in metaphysics later on. Let us be clear about the theory which underlay such a curriculum



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in the mind of the medieval schoolmen and which is, indeed, the only one that can possibly support it. It is that theory which regards the subjects of a curriculum as setting-up exercises for the mind. Through their pursuit the mind as a whole gains strength and facility. It is not the subject-matter as such which is important; it is the process of learning. This, whether promulgated by Plato, by the scholastics, by John Locke or by Hutchins is the view of education as a process of formal discipline. It has never been stated more explicitly or with less qualification than in President Hutchins' words which I repeat: "An intellect properly disciplined, an intellect properly habituated, is an intellect able to operate at will in all fields."

Now assuredly it is no refutation of a point of view to say that it is not new. It does, however, help us to estimate its value if we recall from history under what circumstances it has been initiated and what its results have been. The history of ideas is fascinating; the history of ideas as they have been applied educationally is a subject that ought today to be more generally studied than it seems to be.

Essentially, of course, the doctrine of formal discipline is, and always has been, one of escape from reality. Plato's philosophers who were to be kings were supposed to spend both youthful and mature years in secluded peace and quiet, strengthening the muscles of the mind by the abstract study of first principles, carefully kept aloof from reality until the time came for them to emerge and govern their fellows. Realities were troublesome things to the Athenian of Plato's day. Pericles was dead. The Greek world was confused and perplexed. Why not, then, build a state in the heavens and imagine leaders who were carefully to be protected from the hurly-burly of the market-place? It was a noble dream but it was without influence on Greek history, as any educational doctrine that seeks to control events by avoiding them is obliged to be.

The fifth century, which saw the conscious formulation of the doctrine of the "seven liberal arts," was another period primarily concerned with escape; escape from a world that



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with the decaying of the Roman Empire was slowly but inexorably crumbling to pieces. Education could not master such a world. It must therefore keep alive in safe and sheltered places what remained of the ancient tradition. Its task was not to deal with the life about it realistically—what passed daily before the eyes of men was tragic enough—it was rather to take shelter in formalisms and abstractions that were cool, peaceful, and remote. So remote did it become from reality that its vitality for the next thousand years was feeble. Its renewal came with a new revival of the sense of reality. The ancient cultures came alive—not as objects of formal study but as vivid, contemporary thought. So little alteration, after all, had there been in the large patterns of human living in 1500 years that their message was as fresh and vigorous as ever. And, with education and reality once more in harness, the world leapt forward.

And then the inevitable happened. That very alteration of the world which the revival of the ancient cultures had stimulated began to make a new world to which the classical tradition was already becoming less applicable. Latin became less and less vocationally useful. A disturbing thing called science was being born. The ways of men were changing; a new knowledge was accumulating, new literatures arising. The educational reformer called for the incorporation of all this in current schemes of education. But, again, it was easier to turn away from the new realities and to continue the old education. What though it might be less close to reality? It toughened the fibres of the mind; it was abstract and difficult; it was formal discipline.

So ran the argument. So, ever since, has run the argument of the traditionalist in education. The history of the struggle of the sciences to get themselves a decent place in the educational scheme is a particularly shocking illustration of the effects of the mental gymnastic theory of education. It is a fair enough statement that, up to the last two or three generations, the development of modern science has gone on without the



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interest or support of the universities of the world. I have been unable to find any reference to the sciences in President Hutchins' book until the university proper is reached. Is it to be supposed that, for that great majority who drop out at the end of the junior college, any knowledge of what science has done, what it means for citizenship in the modern world, is to be regarded as unnecessary?

Our higher education certainly fails of its purpose if it does not produce individuals who are at home in the modern world. That it cannot do this by escape from that world into a realm of abstractions and fantasies has been abundantly demonstrated by the history of education. This is what deeply disturbs me about this book.

Consider that, up through the first two years of college, Hutchins assumes that we are to deal with two-thirds of the adolescent population (we are at present, in all our institutions, enrolling at all levels of higher education and in all sorts of professional and technical schools about one-fifth). Here is a great expansion of our task. That this great majority of our youth should be so isolated from contemporary realities seems to me, as I have indicated, bad educational theory. I am inclined to believe that it would, furthermore, be unworkable educational practice. I will not say that Hutchins is overestimating the intelligence of the average adolescent. I would rather say that he is drawing a quite fictitious picture of the student's ability to pass, with profit to himself, through a curriculum so largely concerned with abstractions. After a quarter of a century of experience with college students I am convinced that the type of intellect which functions easily on the abstract levels is by no means universal; it is in fact rather rare. Cool contemplation of the underlying concepts of mathematics, for example, is by no means ever arrived at by the average college student. He is simply incapable of it. That the great classics of the world's literature should be studied I agree, but I also believe that their deeper lessons become clear only to a small minority of mankind.



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Yet I agree fully that we have an increasing educational responsibility to youth through the 'teens. I do not believe that we can fulfill that by any one curriculum. It must rather be by varied courses adapted to the needs and capacities of individuals. For there is such a thing as a psychology of individual differences. A universally valid curriculum for a universal student seems to me quite as arbitrary a conception as that of the "economic man" so favored by the earlier economists.

Thus President Hutchins' plan for the last two years of high school and the first two years of college I regard as based on erroneous educational theory and as unworkable in practice.

The function of the university proper is a different matter. Its work, he points out, would be made tremendously more effective if it could find a principle of unification, such as the medieval university found in theology. For this, he suggests, we must turn to metaphysics, to the study of first principles. Of course, the modern world recognizes no body of first principles. We have metaphysicians in plenty but no agreement, as there was general agreement in the large on theological principles in medieval Europe. It is perhaps true that we have passed beyond the point at which such an agreement is possible. The body of knowledge to be integrated and interpreted before principles recognized as valid can be derived is so vast and complex that human thought seems destined to find its way, not by deduction from a series of principles, but inductively and pragmatically. The implications of knowledge, too, change rapidly under our eyes. The contribution of physics, for example, to metaphysics is quite a different thing today from what it was twenty years ago and in a decade it may again have radically altered.

Perhaps it is as well. The world's experience shows well enough that a body of first principles generally recognized as valid can fetter human thought as well as stimulate it. At any rate in our time human thought is in flux. I am not minimizing the desperate need of ordering and correlating so far as we can and of getting fundamental principles which work as



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well as possible whenever we can. Nor am I subscribing to the current events theory of education that would make it merely a factual process. I am merely venturing to doubt whether, in this complex day, any single intellectual center of gravity can be found for all university education. We need, to be sure, a keener sense of values. All knowledge is not of the same worth. But, again, values vary with individuals and with environment. By what universally valid criteria can we judge?

The university, then, says President Hutchins, should find its center in metaphysics with, in addition, the study of the social sciences and the natural sciences, all taught with no practical end in view. Its graduates who desire to enter the professions, being by this time fundamentally trained, should go on for directly vocational training to technical institutions, outside the university, which will give them the "tricks of the trade." The pursuit of vocational ends in a university is good neither for the university nor for the professions. Schools of engineering, law, education, medicine, and so on would cease to exist within the university proper. The fundamental underlying principles of the sciences concerned would be studied within the university; the rest is vocational.

Two comments suggest themselves. In the first place the distinction between what is fundamental and what is vocational is more apparent to the professional schools themselves than it was even a decade ago—with the exception of schools of education, whose situation is complicated by external factors. The general drift of schools of engineering, law, and medicine for example has been definitely in that direction. From one point of view it is immaterial whether the sciences fundamental to medicine—physiology, anatomy, and the like—are taught in the university or in the medical school. From the point of view, however, of inculcating a professional spirit in men who are to be doctors, of emphasizing certain approaches and values, the medical school itself would seem to be the place for them.

But I am less concerned about that phase of the matter than about what seems to me essentially a false distinction, namely,



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that between "intellectual" and "practical"—between study pursued for the sake of "pure" knowledge and that pursued for immediately purposeful ends. Much has been said and written about the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and concerning the fact that this is the prime object of a university. I have myself come to doubt the validity of that position—or rather, I have come to feel that whether or not the object of inquiry is or is not immediately practical is a question of little significance. I have seen problems of immediate consequence to agriculture, engineering, medicine, finance, or education pursued with every bit as high a level of intelligence, with as complete regard for scientific method, with just as ingenious and unprejudiced questioning for facts, as in the case of inquiries which have no specific utility. That the test of scholarship is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake I am by no means as fully prepared to grant as when I was a graduate student. A university is a company of scholars. What these scholars do ought to be worth while and well done. But to insist that the aristocracy is of those whose work is without immediate practical consequence is a position I can no longer take. The inclusion of men on university faculties who are at work from professional and vocational motives does away with a clear-cut scholastic picture of what a university should be; it adds to the confusion of the higher learning, but such men, if they are competent, are of the spirit of the university itself.

The higher learning in America is confused. There is no aspect of our national life, or of the life of the world, which is not. But that confusion has about it vitality and a certain lusty vigor of youth. At all events it will not be lessened by an artificial and arbitrary over-simplification which disregards fundamental elements of the problem it seeks to solve.



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# *In the Realm of Scholarship*

## The South and Its Libraries

ROBERT BINGHAM DOWNS

IT IS generally assumed without argument that among all the states in the union those of the South are the most poverty stricken in the possession of books. So accustomed have the southern states become to bringing up the rear in matters educational that the region's inferiority in libraries and book collections is taken for granted. Sydney Smith's famous "Who reads an American book?" might be paraphrased in the minds of students and scholars to "Who goes to a southern library for a book?"

Certain southern librarians are wondering whether these assumptions of mediocrity are true in every respect and if so what can be done about the situation. No section of the country has subjected itself to a more critical self-examination in the past two decades than the South. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should finally get around to asking for facts on its libraries and their comparative status. Two recent publications[1] have analyzed in detail various aspects of the problem. The field of research materials is receiving particular attention from another direction —the Committee on Resources of Southern Libraries, organized by the American Library Association in 1934. From the beginning this Committee has been engaged in discovering the actual facts of the present situation. Some of its findings will be discussed here.

In a consideration of relative library standing, attention might be given first to purely quantitative measurements. The heaviest concentrations of books are in New York, California, Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, in that order, with Ohio, Illinois, and Pennsylvania trailing not far behind. No other state is even very close to this fortunate group. At the opposite end of the scale are those areas weakest in book holdings. These are not, as one might expect, in the South but in the sparsely populated Northwest and Southwest. The six states with fewest books are North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Nevada, Idaho, and New Mexico, in descending order. Where do the southern states fit into this picture? The largest and wealthiest, Texas, ranks along with Iowa, Minnesota, and Maryland. An-

[1] Barker, T. D. *Libraries of the South.* Chicago, American Library Association, 1936.
Wilson, L. R. and Wight, E. A. *County Library Service in the South.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935.



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other block made up of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia is in a class with Washington, Kansas, Rhode Island, Colorado, Oregon, and Maine. Somewhat below these are Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, while the remainder of the South (Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi) is saved from occupying the cellar only by the Rocky Mountain states.

The contents of these book collections are no doubt more significant than the number of volumes. In an attempt to evaluate southern libraries the Resources Committee made an investigation of so-called "special collections" in these institutions. It can be stated as a truism that a library which hopes to achieve any measure of distinction must develop intensively one or more restricted fields of knowledge, even though this means that other spheres are neglected. Taking the possession of special collections as one criterion of quality, southern libraries are found to have some distinguished materials in various fields, but with marked stress on history and literature. In the forefront of these collections are the Mayan languages at Tulane University; the Brazilian and Peruvian divisions and the Lanson library on French literature at Duke University; the Hanes Foundation on the history of books, and the American and Spanish drama sections at the University of North Carolina; the J. Q. Adams collection on English literature at the University of Oklahoma; the Mexican collection, Wrenn library, and the Aitken, Beiber, and Stark collections on literature at the University of Texas; the Browning library at Baylor University; and the Lomb optical library, Bruce collection in English, and the Tunstall poetry collection at the University of Virginia. These instances, while hardly typical, are by no means isolated. To the institutions named might be added a considerable number of other southern libraries having special collections of value and importance.

One peculiar and very nearly universal aspect of southern library collections is the emphasis on local or regional history and literature. The enthusiasm for such materials has been an outgrowth of sectional pride and solidarity, and also of historians' repeated urgings that valuable southern records be saved from destruction. Doubtless the time and energy used in the acquisition of these innumerable collections is often misplaced and the money spent could have been expended to better advantage. After all, the Civil War has been fought. On the other hand, this regional interest has stimulated the growth of some excellent collections on individual states, as at Virginia State Library, University of North Carolina, University of



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Texas, Louisiana State University and others, and it has also led to the development of several libraries of great distinction relating to the South in general. The manuscript divisions at Duke University, University of Virginia, University of North Carolina, and University of Texas, for example, contain immense numbers of letters, diaries, plantation records, and other raw materials waiting to be turned into first-rate history. It is altogether likely that the utilization of these records will change some existing conceptions of American history.

So much for special collections, both on southern and non-southern subjects. We have at least a partial answer here to the question whether advanced study is possible in the South without relying heavily upon the great libraries of the North and West. It is evident that in specified fields adequate facilities are available for the research worker. Nevertheless, the Library of Congress and the University of Chicago are now supplying a greater number of inter-library loans to southern libraries than does any southern institution, indicating many serious gaps yet to be filled. Mr. Edwin R. Embree recently stated that only one distinguished graduate department is to be found in all the universities of the South.[1] There is small prospect that his judgment will be reversed so long as it is necessary for southern graduate schools to lean too extensively on book collections in distant states.

In order to get an accurate and complete picture of the situation the Committee on Resources of Southern Libraries has undertaken a systematic survey of book holdings in every type of southern institution containing research materials. No such general investigation has ever been made for this region or indeed for any other part of the country. The present study covers colleges and universities, state libraries, larger public libraries, state and local archives, law, medical, historical and other special libraries from Virginia to Texas. A recent estimate shows approximately 10,000,000 volumes in this area in libraries with research interests. The collections are of course widely scattered and some are not easily accessible.

The southern survey is in the hands of a group of librarians who are visiting and inspecting each of about 275 libraries, studying the collections at first hand. These surveyors are undertaking, not a mere listing of materials but a detailed description of available collections in every subject. It is expected that the results will be published upon completion. The chief barrier in the way of a wider usefulness for southern libraries is a lack of information concerning existing resources. One

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 155, Pp. 652-664. June 1935.



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objective of the survey is the provision of such information. The research worker will be aided in finding the best collections in his field and libraries will have a sound basis for cooperative enterprises. Most important of all, perhaps, particular weaknesses in libraries of the region are being discovered. It will therefore be possible to proceed intelligently with the problem of improving facilities. For instance, it does not take long to perceive what Dr. Louis R. Wilson calls "the literary tradition" in southern libraries. Insufficient attention has been paid to scientific and technical fields, to the social sciences and the fine arts. A disproportionate share of time and money has been given to history and literature, much of it in a narrow sectional sense. Libraries must take a broader view of their opportunities and responsibilities if they are to make any substantial contribution to the development of the South.

Signs are numerous that some southern librarians, at least, are alive to their particular needs and problems. There is an encouraging trend toward institutional cooperation throughout the region. In Atlanta, Nashville, Richmond, Chapel Hill-Durham and other library centers unified programs of growth are taking place, involving union catalogs, divisions of collecting interests, avoidance of unnecessary duplication, and liberal inter-library loan policies. The fact that librarians of the South have undertaken a rigid self-appraisal indicates a lack of complacency and self-satisfaction. They have shown themselves willing to experiment with new ideas and to shake off old precedents if by so doing they can place their resources on a par with the best offered by the North, East, or West.

## Seminar in Mexico

HUBERT HERRING

THE Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America is organizing this year its Twelfth Seminar in Mexico, to be held from July 7 through July 27. The program, conducted one week in Cuernavaca and two weeks in Mexico City, is divided among lectures, field trips and the more informal contacts of individuals and small groups. The faculty includes many of the ablest authorities on Mexican life and inter-American relations, from both sides of the Rio Grande. An added attraction this year will be a Festival of Pan-American Chamber Music, sponsored by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and directed by Carlos Chavez.

Further information may be had by writing to the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.



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# Discussion

## China's Civilization Simultaneous, Not Osmotic

*To the Editor:*

During a leisure moment at our Embassy at Peiping I picked up the Ambassador's copy of the summer issue of your journal and my attention was at once caught by C. W. Bishop's "A Civilization by Osmosis—Ancient China." The analogy between chemical and cultural processes is rather fascinating but the development of the argument contains, it seems to me, certain inconsistencies that should be noted.

The implication of the analogy is that a general law governs both cultural processes and chemical solutions. Whenever a permeable barrier exists between a region of lower cultural pressure and one of higher, then culture should always flow from the higher into the lower until both are equal.

On page 327 steam, motor, and airplane transport are cited as current examples of the osmotic process. But the Chinese have shown high resistance to the introduction of Western methods of food preparation and consumption and to Western concepts of religion, to cite but two examples. The argument seems to need the proviso that it is only when a recognized need for the culture exists that the process can operate. I would go further and say that such a transfer can take place only when the need exists simultaneously with local conditions that make the new culture applicable. During two thousand years of contact between India and China the Indian people never learned from the Chinese how to make iron castings because conditions in India were not favorable to the use of the Chinese method. But when Europeans in the 18th century brought the knowledge of a different technique it was adopted.

At the top of the same page it is said that nothing has been found to suggest that metal-working in China was invented independently of the Near East. If it is permissible to take the word metal-working in the widest sense I would emphatically deny this. I pointed out in the *Geographical Review* (Vol. XXIV, Oct. 1934) that the Chinese method for the production of iron used in the Yellow-River-bend region differs so much from that used elsewhere in the world as to be almost certain evidence of a technique of local origin. This view seems to be clinched by the fact that the Chinese there learned how to make castings of iron and practiced the art extensively for two thousand years before it devel-



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oped independently in Europe. The evidence is not so clear and conclusive as to zinc, but we are quite sure that the metal was produced in China long before it was in Europe. Nor is there any definite evidence that the European inventors had any knowledge of the Chinese method, which was practically identical with that of their own devising. The nickel-copper alloy which the Chinese call "pai-tung" has been used by them for a thousand years but never appeared elsewhere until specimens were taken to Europe in comparatively recent times.

Finally, as early as the 5th century and perhaps even earlier, the Chinese developed a technique for the drilling of deep wells to obtain brine. A thousand years or so later the same method appeared in Europe for the drilling of artesian wells, but the Western world was in complete ignorance of the Chinese technique until Père Coldre published a description in 1891. A good example of a similar ignorance, so recent that we can be sure of what happened, occurred in Butte fifty years ago. Some miners noticed that when mine water flowed over iron the iron was dissolved and copper was precipitated. From that observation a practical method of producing copper from mine water was devised. Some time later a description of the "invention" was published, in all good faith, but in complete ignorance that the process was one that had long been extensively practised in Spain and, if literary evidence is to be believed, was known in China long before that.

If metal-working is to be taken



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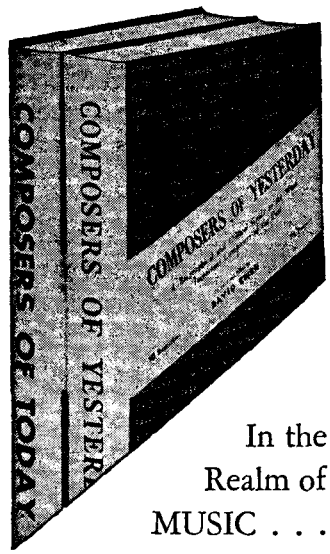
in its narrowest sense I do not know how anyone could know without much more information than is available to us, whether it had been independently invented. A metal-worker tries out various ways to accomplish his purpose, and when he finds the one best way adheres to it. Thus we find metal work being done in essentially the same manner the world around; but it must be an unconscious belief in the story of Tubal Cain that makes ethnologists tend to believe all metal workers learned their art from one common ancestor. With the same metal to work on I should expect the methods used to be the same for two people who had never even heard of each other. The only practical way to make a casting is to make a mold and pour the molten metal into it. I do not see how anyone can possibly tell whether the Chinese worked it out themselves or whether they learned it from someone else. That bronze castings do not appear in China till a couple of millenniums after they appeared in the Near East does not seem conclusive evidence that the method seeped into China by cultural osmotic pressure.

In conclusion my principal objection to Mr. Bishop's argument is the general impression it leaves in the reader's mind of the Chinese as a people who have never originated anything but have only absorbed from more cultured peoples. We have the most definite evidence that they have originated many things. It seems a bit unfair to hold them up as an example of a low-pressure cultural area.

THOMAS T. READ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# Meager Literary Relations

*To the Editor:*

I want to tell THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR how glad I was to see in its pages the article by Henry Grattan Doyle. When the Autumn number came I took down from the shelves where they had been sequestered my *Revues Hispaniques*. In the number for June 1918 I found, among the pages of an article on "La Literatura Columbiana" by Antonio Gomez Restredo, a cutting from the *New York Times* book review of July 24, 1921 beginning with these words "The literary relations of North and South America are so meager that they may be said hardly to exist at all." I have in my hands the Hispanic Society's *Hispanic Anthology*. I shall not quote from José Maria Heredia's "Ode to Niagara" translated by William Cullen Bryant, but instead from Rubén Darío's (1867-1916) to Roosevelt. You may smile as I do at its naïveté. But it does in a fashion illustrate our theme—"the meager relations."

The United States are rich, they're powerful and great
(They join the cult of Mammon to that of Hercules),
And when they stir and roar, the very Andes shake. . . .

But our America, which since ancient times . . .
Has had its native poets; which lives on fire and light,
On perfumes and on love; our rash America,
The land of Montezuma, the Inca's mighty realm,
Of Christopher Columbus the fair America,
America the Spanish, the Roman Catholic . . .
Oh men of Saxon eyes and fierce barbaric soul,
This land still lives and dreams, and loves and stirs!
Take care!
The daughter of the Sun, the Spanish land doth live!
And from the Spanish lion a thousand whelps have sprung!"

REBECCA GOMES CASSERES

# About Our Authors

*Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from letters which we requested from authors themselves.*

JEAN CHARLOT was born in France. "There I almost avoided my destiny by becoming the amateur flyweight boxing and savate champion. After this the next setback was the refusal of the Beaux Arts to accept my drawing of a plaster cast as an entrance examination. In 1919 I was with the Army of Occupation in Germany where I became acquainted with the work of the great German masters, Grünewald and Lochner, which had a great influence on my work. After the War I joined the archeological reconstruction work of the Carnegie Institute in Chichen Itza, Yucatan. This gave me an opportunity to study the historic Maya culture, especially through the discovery and copying of Mayan stelae. After a trip to Washington to proofread what I had done for the Carnegie Institute I came to New York. While here I continue to be an authority on the 14th century costume and habits of the Maya (concerning which I have had one inquiry within the last eight years) and also to paint."

After spending 13 years as pastor of a church in Detroit REINHOLD NIEBUHR joined the faculty of Union Theological Seminary where he is now Professor of Applied Christianity. He spends most of his weekends before one of the world's most critical audiences—college students—speaking on both social and religious themes. In *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, *Reflections on the End of an Era* and his other books he has subjected himself to a second critical audience, the reading public. His last contribution to THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR was "Pacifism Against the Wall," Spring 1936.

EDITH CHRISTINA JOHNSON, Associate Professor of English, Wellesley College, and Author of *Lamb Always Elia*, says: "The popular sentimental conception of Lamb as a noble martyr has always annoyed me. The affection bestowed upon Lamb by his contemporaries was always



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in answer to a correspondent who finds in the Spanish Revolution the beginning of "the collapse of civilization," *The Living Age* quotes from its issue of May 25, 1844, a comment on the Spanish Revolution.

> **"We understand that the celebrated case of the two Kilkenny cats—who, shut together in a garret, fought each other until nothing of them remained but their tails—has been under serious consideration of the Five Powers, with a view to its application to the present state of Spain. It has, consequently, been resolved that no foreign intercourse whatever shall be permitted with that country for the next five years. That time elapsed, it will be curious to know how much will remain of all parties of the Spanish. Bets run that nothing will be found but their moustaches."**

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A penetrating study of the man who steers French foreign affairs at this critical time.

**New Deal Troubles in France**
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Legislation for higher wages and shorter hours is crushing middle class, small employers in France.

**The Wayfarer (A Story)**
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tinged with warm admiration of his fine and subtle intellect. . . . Many of Lamb's sympathies, imperfect and otherwise, I share: I too love a good play and am not enamored of life in the country. I dislike all healthy out-of-door activities but have a passion for travel. . . . As a professor I am very disappointing for I am not absent-minded and I do not perform strangely in the classroom."

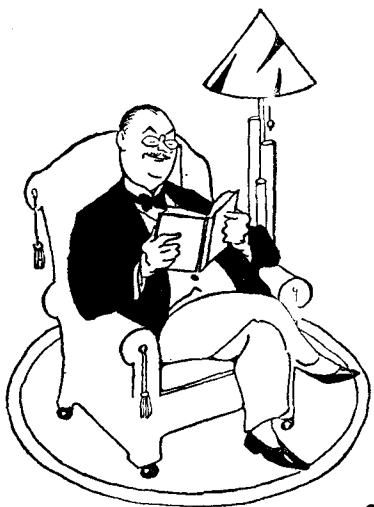
FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, "now about to accept a professorship of political science at Williams College for the next three years" after ten years of teaching at the University of Chicago, is "a pioneer in breaking from the solemn formalities of abstract international law and politics and daring to view realistically the moving scene as a whole" (to quote Charles A. Beard). His *American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917*, *War and Diplomacy in the French Republic*, *International Politics* and *The Nazi Dictatorship* are "designed to be readable for people in general and to be taken seriously by those not under academic compulsion." Perhaps he classes a boring page with "Adolph Hitler, golf, Buchmanites and hunting."

Additional food for those who would feed a spring fever—with Vermont woods, hillsides, skies and their inhabitants—may be had in EDWARD WEISMILLER'S volume, *The Deer Come Down*, 1936 winner in the "Yale Series of Younger Poets."

PAUL BRISSENDEN, professor of economics at Columbia, is not a student of labor problems in the abstract. He is vice-chairman of the Millinary Stabilization Commission and has served as a member of the Commission for the Coat and Suit Industry, as member of the Regional Labor Board, and as chairman of the Millinery Inter-industry Board. . . . He has a faculty for seeing through surface tensions to underlying issues and has interesting things to say about the emergence of the C.I.O. as a political force—things we hope he may be induced to discuss in a later number. . . . It would probably be unjust to infer, from his non-compliance in letting the public know his hobbies and aversions, that he is free from likes and dislikes.

HORACE GREGORY says that all his important achievements, including two children, are listed in the current issue of *Who's Who*. It would be as unfair, however, to his poetry (see his volumes *Chelsea Rooming House*, *No Retreat* and *Chorus for Survival*) and critical essays as to his children to limit oneself to such an account. A good deal more may be gleaned by consulting back numbers of *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Hound and Horn* and *Poetry Magazine* (1923-1934). One might also consult the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College, where he has been lecturing on poetry and critical theory since 1934.

CHARLES E. CLARK is Dean of the Yale School of Law. The comprehensive list of his books, to be found in *Who's Who*, includes his recent discussion "Law and Legal Institutions" (with W. O. Douglas) in *Recent Social Trends*, but passes up a chance to list numerous articles in law reviews and general magazines. . . . His flight from the realities of membership in Bar Associations (four of

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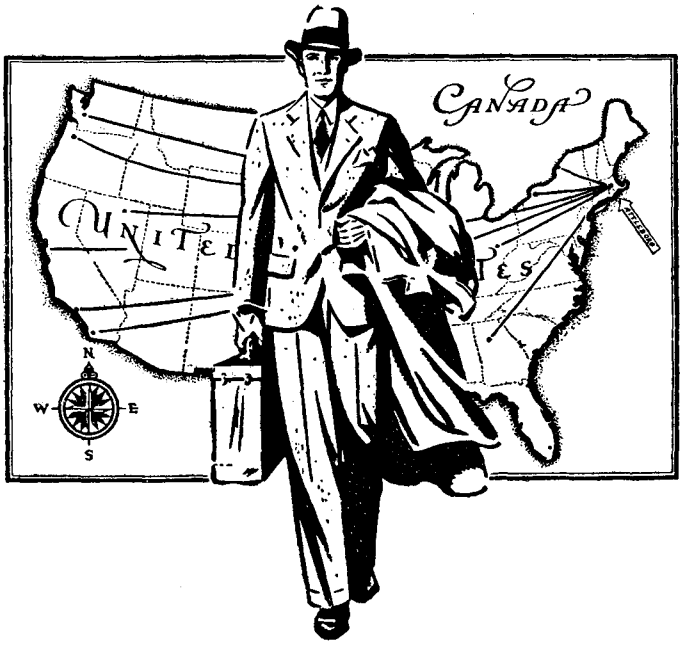


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them), commissions, and the directorship of the American Judicature Society takes him to the golf course.

EDGAR L. PENNINGTON as clergyman in towns of varying sizes, has had an education not only in law and English literature but in rural and urban psychology, and has seen today's revolt against Christianity in terms of Radio City, St. Patrick's Cathedral and the tenant farmer. He has guarded himself against excessive demands from membership in various learned bodies (such as the Medieval Academy of America and the American Society of Church History) by entrenching his love of music with Lewisohn Stadium concerts in summer and phonograph records in winter.

As a youth EDWIN GRANT CONKLIN, professor (now emeritus) of zoology at Princeton and president (1936) of the A. A. A. S., "was a voluminous reader, especially fond of poetry and biography. In adult life he has been characterized by fondness for teaching, but he is a laborious writer and afflicted with a 'perfection complex' which has largely inhibited publication, with the result that he has a barrel of unpublished mss. In spite of this aversion for publishing he has to his credit several books [including *The Future of Evolution, Revolt Against Darwinism* and *Science and the Faith of the Modern*] and about 175 articles and monographs. . . . He loves to work with his hands, to tinker, plant, build, and especially to use the microscope and to study the processes of development and evolution. . . . It is one of the maxims of his life and teaching that we should take the long rather than the short view of human history."

A friend writes of HARRY WOODBURN CHASE, Chancellor of New York University, previously President of the Universities of North Carolina and Illinois, that "he began his professional career as a student of psychology under Stanley Hall at Clark University but says he has forgotten all about theoretical psychology in his concentration on the practical applications demanded by the job he now holds. Although he states that his sole claim to scholarly distinction lies in the fact that he has never written a book, he admits to a strong leaning toward detective stories written by other people, enjoys the theater but seldom has a chance to get there, dislikes public dinners although he can be found at one practically any night in the week, and has a good time playing bad golf. He is a member of more boards and committees than he ought to be. Although he confesses to be temperamentally lazy he is in actuality doing one of the finest jobs in educational administration in the East today."

ROBERT BINGHAM DOWNS is librarian and professor of library science, at the University of North Carolina. "When not engaged in tracking down research materials in obscure libraries I try to find time for tennis, mountain climbing, and helping rear a very active two-year-old daughter [which he likes better than bridge and gardening]. Taking a busman's holiday I am interested in book-collecting, especially in the field of early American humor, and books on mountaineering."


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